LOVE & RAGE

Revolutionary Anarchist Newspaper

Exclusive *Love & Rage* photo from satellite shows Godzilla stomping San Diego convention center.

Welcome to the 1996 Conventions

BY LAURA AND MICHELLE

Just when you thought all hope was lost, Godzilla rises from her slumber to save us! Run for your lives, you puny politicians! You cannot play us against each other in order to obtain votes! No longer can you pretend to care if we live or die once every four years! Your conventions are dust! You who have built false pillars of power on empty promises and ridiculous laws—you shall perish!!!

Well, Godzilla's dead so if there's any saving to be done around here we'll have to be doing it ourselves. In this, as in every election year, we are constantly barraged by people who purport to have all of the answers. All we have to do, seemingly, is vote.

The garden-variety anarchist responds "If voting could change the world they'd make it illegal," and she's right, but once you've screened a few dozen t-shirts, where do you go from there? It's not that simple. Anarchism takes a stand against the state because the state is by its nature outside of and unaccountable to the people. We believe that communities are capable of governing themselves. Politics, then, is pretty far removed from this summer's dueling spectacles they call conventions. It's found instead in places like your own backyard or the vacant lot down the street. Politics consists of all that we do to organize ourselves: to take back the power to make the decisions that effect our lives—whether that be organizing a union, a community school, a cultural organization, a clinic, or a direct action group.

THE "NO'S" HAVE IT

Never should we forget the ironic fact that in this nation that spends billions around the globe forcing "free and democratic elections" down everyone's throat, a majority of the population doesn't bother to vote. The fact that the pitiful tally does not even include non-citizens, the people whose back-breaking labor keeps our economy (sometimes barely) afloat, makes voting in this country even more of a farce. Don't be convinced that those no-shows are just apathetic. Not voting is much more likely an expression of disgust.

But filing ballots in their rightful spot—the trash—no matter how good it feels, sometimes slights the extent to which legislative changes affect our lives. Unfortunately, we cannot ignore the state because it infringes upon us every day. For people of color, the poor and women this rings especially true. From teenagers required to get permission to end a pregnancy to predominately young Black and Latino men locked down sometimes 23 hours a day by the state's lackeys; we can't ignore the state because it won't ignore us.

That's why fights for state reform—of immigration laws, for the restoration of education budgets, against workfare, welfare cuts, labor lock outs, the regulation of abortion, or the destruction of affirmative action programs are so vital. These are the seeds of any revolutionary movement because they address the issues that affect us everyday. Militant struggle around such issues has forced concessions from the government throughout US history; concessions now hanging by a thread such as the eight hour day, social security, the welfare system, civil rights, affirmative action, and others. The demands raised by these historical movements and by contemporary movements can not be entirely met under the system in which we live. At the most basic level, human needs fundamentally conflict with this society's ultimate priority: profit. Maintaining the majority of people's faith in such a cold-hearted and inhuman system requires all sorts of trickery to keep us divided from each other, white supremacy being the most classic and best-tested formula.

Through struggle, many people learn of the inability of the system to meet demands for justice, others find excuses to compromise and sell out. Reforms of unjust laws and policies can be won and these victories are significant; often they make the difference between misery and a slice of happiness, even between life and death. Anything that improves daily life frees up energy spent keeping our heads above water, for thinking, for pleasure and for struggle. At this point with the big squeeze, also known as neoliberalism, neither party seems to be holding out the option of survival with dignity. Bob Dole and Bill Clinton represent two different parts of the same class: one side believes that corporations can best supply necessary goods and services if the government gets out of the way, not taxing profits so much, for example; the other side believes that the long-term interests of corporations are served by government regulation and social programs, but not too much of either. Each elec-

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Vol. 7, # 3 SPECIAL BROADSHEET EDITION Aug. 1996 Free!

WHAT IS LOVE & RAGE?

Love & Rage is a continental revolutionary anarchist federation. We have local groups and members in many cities in Canada, the US and Mexico. We believe in building a continental revolutionary anti-authoritarian movement. We believe that in order to do that, we need to be organized and we need to be clear about our politics. If you are an activist, a revolutionary, and anti-authoritarian, then get in touch & get involved!

WHAT IS THIS?

This is a special broadsheet edition of ***Love & Rage***, made especially for the beloved Democratic & Republican conventions. ***Love & Rage*** is normally 20 pages and comes out bimonthly, providing coverage of revolutionary and anti-authoritarian organizing in North America and worldwide. We cover mass movements of people organizing for liberation. We print analysis of world events. We publish challenging theoretical articles to broaden and deepen political dialogue in the revolutionary movement.

JOIN US!

Love & Rage is not just a newspaper, it is also an organization. It is not a closed circle of friends...we encourage anyone who basically agrees with our politics and wants to build mass movements to join Love & Rage and get involved. Love & Rage functions in a democratic, participatory manner. You can join the federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. For information on joining Love & Rage, contact the local group in your city. If there's no group in your city, contact the Federation Office in Minneapolis for more information and materials. To get a sample copy of ***Love & Rage*** newspaper, send $1 to the newspaper address.

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SPECIAL EDITION

You are reading a special eight-page broadsheet edition of Love and Rage revolutionary anarchist newspaper. We printed five thousand of these to be distributed for free at the various activities of resistance to the Republicrats' conventions this August. We also printed a sixteen-page (smaller than the regular 20-pages) edition of Volume 7 #4 (August/September). If you like what you read, ask us for more! Here's how:

Oppression

Voting for Your Own ★

BY MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

"THESE POLITICIANS ARE SO DEVIOUS THEY WOULD DISOWN THEIR FATHER, DENOUNCE THEIR MOTHER, DENY THEY WERE BORN OF PARENTS, AND BURN THEIR BIRTH CERTIFICATE IF THEY THOUGHT IT WOULD COST 'EM A VOTE, EFFECT THEIR INFLUENCE, CUT INTO THEIR SO-CALLED POWER."
JOHN AFRICA
"ON THE MOVE" COLUMN
PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE (7/29/75)

When a Philadelphia politician recently dared to criticize the city's mayor for his sluggish response the police killing of a Black resident, the mayor dismissed the criticism out of hand, by boasting he received 80% of the city's Black vote in his last election.

Translation: "If Blacks don't like my stand on certain issues, they won't vote for me, but since they did, what's your beef?"

In city after city, in election after election, some Black leaders make much ado about the vote, the "sacred franchise" so much so that Blacks make a fetish of the vote, obsessing over it as a symbol of citizenship, forgetting that it is a secular exercise with one objective: power.

Some thirty years after African Americans have won the franchise, the central objective, power, seems as elusive as ever.

We should not confuse presence with power, for although many government bodies have Blacks present, they are so constructed that power, or the ability to exercise the will of their constituencies, is, more often than not, a mirage.

How could this be otherwise in a system that practices "majority rules"? In a system where whites are in a overwhelming majority?

In such a system, Black politicians may don the same suits or skirts; if judges, they may be clad in the same robes of office, but they are never free to exercise the power of their white colleagues. Never.

Several years ago, Black intellectuals and civil rights people were sorely distressed at U.S. President Bill Clinton's slighting and rejection of an alleged "friend," law professor Lani Guinier, for a high post in the U.S. Justice Department, reportedly because her views out of some presumed "mainstream" What mainstream? We shall see.

Professor Guinier's area of expertise is the Voting Rights Act, and how to apply those theoretical statutory rights to the real world. In her view, the "majority rules" way meant a permanent denial of meaningful representation for the numerical minority; thus, she suggested proportionality, or banking votes according to a group's percentage in a given population.

Thus, Guinier's theories challenged the US's historical and contemporary practice of white i.e. "majority" supremacy, and its monopoly of power.

Clinton, fundamentally a Southern politician, in the interest of continued white supremacy, could not be seen supporting a political appointee who supported a theory that diluted white power.

So, in our millions, North and South, we continue to vote for politicians whose interests are not our own. We vote for politicians who spit on our dreams. We vote in a system that was initiated, is sustained, and continues on the foundation of Black oppression and containment.★

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(Continued from page 1)

tion serves up false options by whose logic we are manipulated into positions that ultimately support the status quo.

To the extent that voting makes a slight difference in your daily life it's worth it. But the margin of difference is so minute it hardly registers. (The only difference between the two parties at the presidential level seems now to be a slight disagreement over how to regulate abortion). The real pity (and this goes double for third parties) is when voting passes as political activity. When we build a mass movement technically big enough to elect someone to national office, we should mobilize not to line up at the polls but to pull that curtain down and govern ourselves. Building mass movements is a means and end of empowerment and involvement; voting merely creates an illusion.

So as the sun sets on the ravaged convention centers and politicians are strewn about their bloodied floors with looks of disbelief in their cold, empty eyes, our hero retreats into the Pacific. Perhaps in another four years she will not be needed to save us from this ludicrous facade of self-representation and we will have had our turn at stomping and growling.★

GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES. THEY NEED YOUR HELP. JOIN THE FEDERATION.

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If you find yourself in general agreement with the politics of Love & Rage, get involved! Contact one of the local groups listed here, or write the Love& Rage Federation Office in Minneapolis for information.

Reproductive Freedom for All Women

Not on the Democrats' or Republicans' Agenda

By Justine Abinni

Abortion rights are under attack. The Christian Right has succeeded in making abortion a key issue in this presidential race and they are demanding an anti-abortion platform.

Attacks against abortion have occurred on the legislative level for years. The latest trend in state and local government has been to try to put piecemeal restrictions on abortion; the end result would make abortion pretty much illegal and wholly inaccessible. This year's back door scheme was an attempt to ban a kind of second trimester abortion used in very rare cases. In recent years waiting periods and parental consent laws have seriously limited abortions for poor women. And attacks against abortion continue on the grassroots level—clinic bombings and murders mount as evidence of a growing number of anti-abortion fanatics.

A central issue in the struggle for women's liberation is the right to have an abortion; even more so as the Christian Right gains political power and grows as a grassroots movement. Their patriarchal view of family forces women into a submissive role. Hatred of women is shrouded by an obsession with the fetus. Their only view of family is one that consists of Man, woman, and child, so it's not surprising that their family values campaign includes anti-queer legislation as well. At this time the Christian Right's priority is to pressure the Republican Party to clarify its anti-abortion position.

Chicago area clinics during the Democratic National Convention.

We must be both defensive and offensive in our action against anti-choice forces. We can protect our clinics by doing clinic defense, defend doctors where they live, hold protests where antis speak. These tactics have proven to be somewhat successful reactions to the assault. But we must also take the initiative in the campaign against anti-abortion terror, and adopt strategies such as shutting down fake abortion clinics and waging long-term struggles against the antis who are organizing in our cities and towns.

A revolutionary feminist movement cannot rely on a racist, sexist, and homophobic police force to protect our clinics and doctors. We are responsible to learn and teach how to protect them ourselves. The police have no interest in women's liberation—in many cases they arrest and harass clinic defenders before those blocking access to the clinics. In addition, relying on recent legislation such as the FACE (Freedom to Access Clinic Entrances) law to keep the clinics open is a mistake because the state uses the same laws to repress all protest movements including our own.

"A revolutionary feminist movement cannot rely on a racist, sexist, and homophobic police force to protect our clinics and doctors. We are responsible to learn and teach how to do it ourselves."

STRATEGY

As a movement we need to fight for reproductive freedom for all women, not just upper-middle class white women. The mere right to obtain an abortion on the federal level does not guarantee safe and accessible abortions for women of all races, classes, and ages. Every law or socially-sanctioned attack on women is connected to the same power base. And so we are obligated, to fight the racism of sterilization abuse, forced birth control, and the threat of rape if any real and lasting change is to occur.

For starters, it is important for there to be a pro-choice presence at both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions. Various anti-abortion groups such as Operation Rescue and ACLA (American Coalition of Life Advocates—the group that advocates "justifiable homicide" against abortion providers) plan to converge on San Diego during the Republican National Convention and target area clinics. Most abortion providers have taken the FBI's discreet advice to close their doors during the convention, essentially conceding defeat to anti-abortion forces. In addition, Pat Buchanan is having his own rally and the militantly anti-abortion US Taxpayer's Party convention begins the week following the RNC. Militant anti-abortionists are also prepared to descend on San Diego, where the Christian Right plans to make a stand, in solidarity with groups in the Chicana/o community who are organizing against the racist anti-immigrant agenda of the Republican Party.

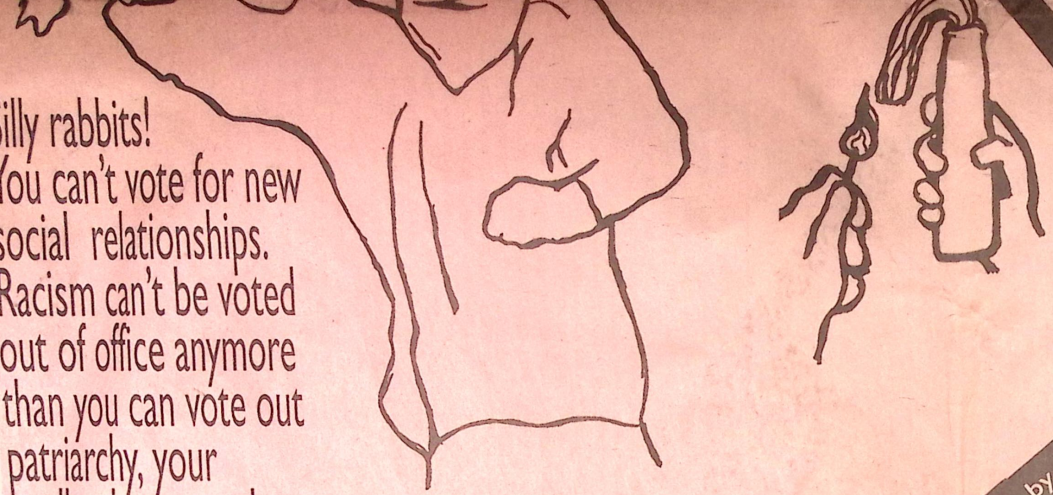
Liberal forces rely on and trust the state to safeguard our "rights." This strategy has backfired, therefore those of us who have an alternative vision should unite. Love and Rage is interested in working with activists who want to take back clinic defense from liberal groups. We will not let the antis shut down clinics, kill our doctors and clinic workers, or organize in our communities without resistance.

We are not in San Diego to just counter the Christian Right. Pat Buchanan is specifically running on an anti-abortion platform; as we all know he is in bed with Operation Rescue and has spoken openly about criminalizing abortion under all circumstances, including rape. But Bob Dole is also an anti-abortion candidate and will end up positioning his views on abortion according to whose votes he needs the most. The latest waffle on the issue has resulted in a confounding "tolerance plank" and nobody knows for certain how the party will hedge its bets. The fact that they are allowing a pot-smoking, pro-choice woman to speak at the convention means diddley in terms of what Dole will really do for women in the future. They can't pacify everybody forever.

Obviously our strategy for taking on the Christian Right should not be limited to our presence at the Republican or Democratic convention. It is important to create a long-term strategy, which in part must include building a stronger revolutionary feminist movement that includes poor women, women of color, young women, and queer women. It is also important that we not isolate the issue of abortion. For that reason we come to San Diego, *including the Christian Right (and the like)* will point the way to success. ★

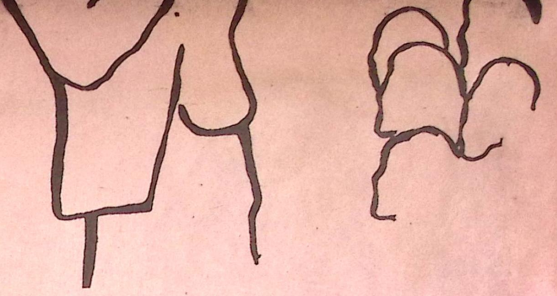
Revolutionary feminism does not and cannot rely on liberal politicians who promise to be pro-choice to get our votes. We are not here to endorse Clinton for president, although he calls himself "pro-choice." Clinton's "pro-choice" position protects access to abortion, but in a regulated and restricted manner that basically reserves the procedure for middle-class women. Unlike liberal feminists, we will not vote for Clinton because some select, immediate needs might be met for middle-class, mostly white women, at the expense of all other women (and men) who are targeted by Clinton's agenda.

It has never been more important to build a cohesive revolutionary force: as women, as feminists, as queers, as non-whites, as the poor, as immigrants, as prisoners, as anyone interested in creating better lives for us all. Do not forget that the struggle for safe and accessible abortion is one very important point of attack. This struggle, combined with consciousness and activism around the many other locuses of power



to do it for them.

Silly rabbits!
You can't vote for new social relationships. Racism can't be voted out of office anymore than you can vote out patriarchy, your landlord, or your boss. Fundamental social change does not happen by pressing levers behind closed curtains, and unless you make a living by exploiting and oppressing people, the politicians you elect will not be defending your interests.



Individual acts of violence and terror will not make a new society. A revolutionary mass movement is needed to sweep away the rotten structures of this society and to build new, democratic, anti-authoritarian structures. A revolution is not the act of a tiny party seizing power. It is the self-conscious act of a movement of millions of people fighting to change their lives for the better. The revolutionary movement must reflect the type of society we are fighting for, directly democratic and struggling to tear down all forms of oppression and domination of groups and individuals.

The cops and the military provide the last line of defense for the ruling class by forcibly preventing people from taking control over their own lives. They are found in large numbers in every community terrorizing residents and forcibly taking people away to be warehoused in dungeons called prisons. Police cannot be voted out of office either and are a stable feature of all authoritarian societies, no matter who you vote for.

International Sign
the System is Choking You

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Poster design by Roy San Filippo, Steve Duncombe & Mic

first aid for the...

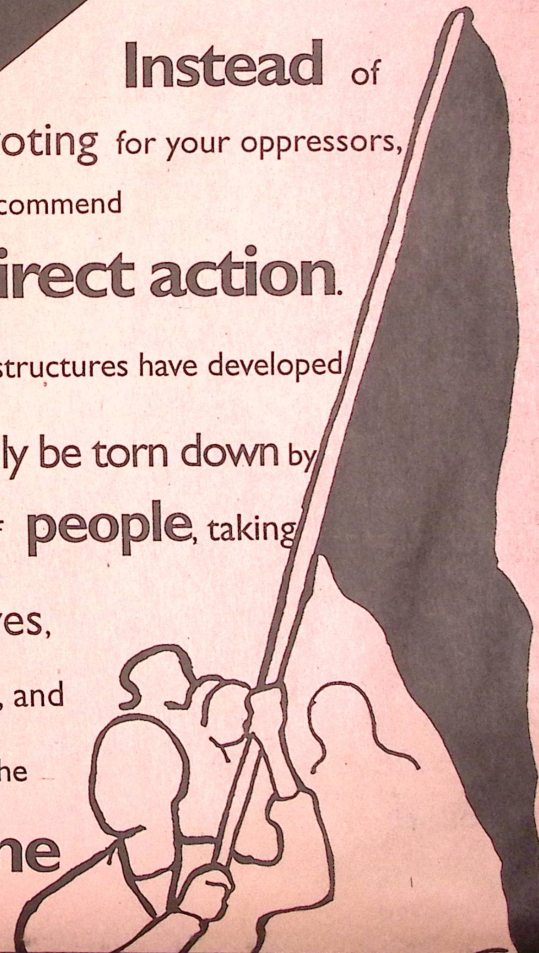
Voting Victim

The REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Every four years, millions of people cast votes for their favorite Presidential candidates hoping that politicians will make a change in their lives.

Instead of voting for your oppressors, we recommend **direct action**.

Authoritarian structures have developed over centuries and will only be torn down by the **conscious** participation of **people**, taking **control** over their own lives, communities, and workplaces, and not waiting for the **state**, the "Vanguard Party" or **anyone else**



Always More People Than Cops

Chicago in August 1968

By Futura Demibold

Clark Street, Chicago, August 26, 1968. The smell of tear gas hangs in the air south of Lincoln Park, which the cops have just gassed out. People have scattered, mostly heading toward the central Loop. The air is heavy, still warm at 11 p.m. Down Clark Street, almost deserted, a cop car glides slowly, blue-and-white paint reflecting the streetlights. Half a block from me, a loud POP—a brick has hit the windshield. The car jerks to a stop, its doors fly open. Then there's a splatter of crashes, white stars blossom all across the windshield and side windows, dents burst up in the door panels. The doors slam shut and the car flashes past me, still accelerating as it dwindles. Soon it's gone, Clark Street is quiet, young voices laugh at a distance in the summer air.

"Revolution is a festival of the oppressed," wrote the 19th century historian Jules Michelet. Chicago '68 was indeed a festival, but not the Yippie "Festival of Life" that drew some participants to town. The real festival came in moments like this, when the balance of force turned over and the real balance of power stood revealed: there are always more people than cops. To a young radical of the time, the week's events taught that lesson and many others—about power, politics, and class.

POWER

In front of the Conrad Hilton, downtown Chicago, probably Wednesday, August 28. A kid tosses something at a cop and he flips and chases the youth through the front line of demonstrators, which immediately shuts behind the cop and begins to close in a circle around him, people screaming, "Kill him! Kill him!" He runs, head ducked low, legs stretching out, back toward the line of his comrades, who reach through the demonstrators and pull him to safety.

After the convention, liberals tagged the events a "police riot," to turn the blame on the cops, away from mayor Richard F. Daley and the Democrats. Though it contains some truth—the cops and national guard bloodied and manhandled thousands during the six days of August 25-30—the "police riot" idea is false for two reasons. First, most times when cops charged the crowds they were acting in a disciplined way, under orders, not "rioting" but carrying out the policy of the state. Second, more important, it was our riot.

Through the week, there were repeated clashes around three flashpoints: Lincoln Park, two miles north of the Loop, where many out-of-towners were camping and gathering, and which the cops gassed out on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, August 25-27, enforcing an 11 p.m. curfew no one ever heard of before; Grant Park, across Michigan Avenue from the delegates' headquarters at the Hilton, where there were confrontations every day, but particularly on Wednesday, August 28; and the south end of the Michigan Avenue lakefront, at 12th Street, the route for several attempted marches to the convention site at the Chicago Amphitheater, all blocked by the cops.

Probably only a few hundred demonstrators oriented to street fighting from the start. A larger number were committed to nonviolence at any cost. But probably the largest number wanted to mount standard protests—marches and demonstrations in front of the Hitler—but were ready to fight back tactically when stopped, wherever they had the advantage. This situation created Chicago '68—a mass protest that became a mass riot for hours or just minutes at a time, then resolved into a protest again, only to become a riot once more.

Nobody planned, nobody ran this violence (unlike the cop violence). There were mass numbers and a mass impetus. For example, on August 28th, cop brutalization at a rally in Grant Park led Tom Hayden, of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the antiwar Mobilization Committee ("MOBE"), to call for a move into the Loop. But then the crowd began to move on its own. Cut off in the park (which is divided by a lagoon) by cops blocking the bridges to the Michigan Avenue side, the crowd rushed north, crossed an undefended bridge, and returned south to the Hilton (we called it the "Hitler"), also trying to spill up the sidestreets around it. The cops controlled the perimeter, but not the confrontation scene itself, and at such moments they lost tactical control on a local scale.

Our riots, then, were a mass action, part of a shifting public emotion. They succeeded when the preexisting readiness of some people to mix it up was answered by the accumulated rage in the crowds—and where the crowds had local superiority because of numbers. They were not a guerrilla, affinity group, or "black bloc"-type action.

Politics is about power; revolutionary politics is about power in the streets; revolutionary anarchist politics is about popular, mass power in the streets. When street actions have mass backing—as they did in Chicago, among the thousands demonstrating—then they can win local control over the streets. When such actions have large-scale support in a society, this is technically called a revolutionary situation.

On the other hand, the support has to be there; a good leader with tactical sense can smell when it's there and not. The popular support can't be created just by daring actions. So there was a negative side to Chicago's lessons, too, which unfortunately trapped some very good radicals.

Just over a year later, in October 1969, the Weatherman faction of now-divided SDS held the "days of rage" in

downtown Chicago. Ignoring the tricky situation that created mass defiance in '68, they believed one could "create two, three, many Chicagos" simply by going into the streets and defying the cops, without popular support. They believed several such actions, through the power of example, would "build a core of ten to twenty thousand anti-imperialist fighters." (Weatherman manifesto, quoted in Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 392.)

Aside from the fact that their ideology was fully Stalinist-Communist, Weatherman's strategy alienated thousands of people. They barged into high schools to harangue working-class students and ended up jeered and roughed up by the students. In the "days of rage," 200 activists without a shred of support from anyone trashed property and fought cops and didn't *gain* a shred of support from anyone. Weatherman actions appeared to people just as craziness, something no sane person would have anything to do with. The actions isolated Weatherman and helped build, in response, the explicitly liberal "Moratorium" movement—which held a Washington rally of about one million people the month after the "days of rage." As much as anyone besides Nixon, the FBI and COINTELPRO, Weatherman helped kill the radical antiwar movement.

POLITICS

Outside the Conrad Hilton, probably Tuesday, Aug. 27. The convention demonstrators have linked up with a caravan from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Poor People's March on Washington, and try to march toward the Amphitheater, but Michigan Avenue is choked by cops at 12th Street. We end up back in front of the hotel. "Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil! Seig Heil!" the front ranks of the crowd keep screaming at the cops. At the same time faces are turned upwards, toward the hotel windows, where delegates can be seen leaning out. Some of the delegates are making V signs for peace, and hundreds of demonstrators here on the street below—the same ones screaming at the cops—hold up their hands and heads, making the V sign back to those elusive faces.

The real nature of the Democratic Party seems the hardest of all lessons to learn here. To a minority of demonstrators, including my friends and me, the Democratic Party stands revealed as the enemy, the party of the ruling class, left and right; the "peace candidates," Eugene McCarthy and the late Robert Kennedy, only disguise its real nature. But many more—protesters who came here sympathizing with McCarthy or the memory of Kennedy, as well as SDS members and other radicals—can't get rid of the idea that the Democratic Party really belongs to us, that it is the party of the underprivileged, or should or can be—if not its mainstream wing, then its liberal wing. And so they flash the V sign to the windows.

For a while, it seems as if Chicago has taught the lesson. "At the end of the week," Todd Gitlin writes later, "the McCarthy people had spilled out into the streets—not because anyone had persuaded them to be anti-imperialist, but because the Democrats' doors had been slammed in their faces." (*The Sixties*, 234) But people haven't learned that Kennedy-McCarthy are part of the ruling-class political process; when protest goes strongly into the streets, the ruling-class liberal party will generate a left wing to win them back.

Cut short in 1968, this process plays out over the next few years. In 1972, George McGovern is the Democratic nominee, on an out-of-Vietnam platform. Though he loses miserably to Nixon, he serves the purpose of coaxing the anti-war movement back into the Democratic Party. Nixon, himself, pulls out of Vietnam. Overall, the US ruling class is willing to sacrifice Vietnam, a minor interest, to keep control of domestic politics. That's the lesson not learned in Chicago in 1968.

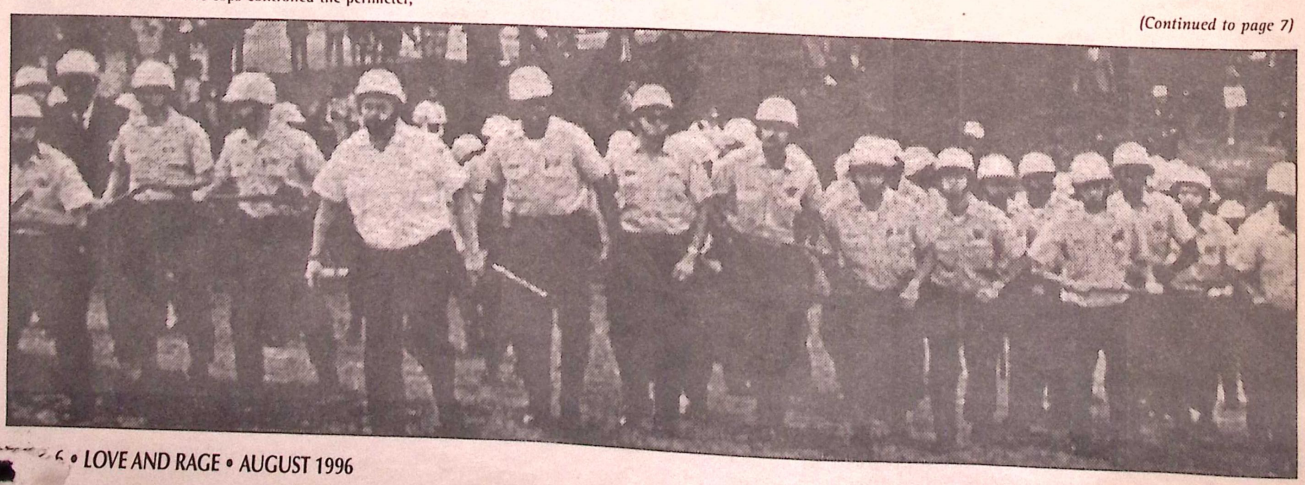
Today, the manifesto for the August "Counter-Convention" announces: "Active Resistance will turn its back on the electoral circus taking place in Chicago and explore instead our vision of real direct democracy." (*Love & Rage*, June/July, 5.) Unlike the protest organizers in 1968, AR recognizes that no wing of the Democratic Party is for the people, but AR also implies that the convention is irrelevant, and that's not true. The convention is not an "electoral circus," it is a decision-making meeting of our enemies.

Though it's easy now for radicals to dismiss the Democrats as irrelevant, that's really a sign that struggle is low. The Democrats are a party of the ruling class that, historically, has succeeded in disguising itself as a party of the people. When struggle heats up people will approach the Democratic Party with the same mix of hate and hope as in 1968. It will be up to the revolutionaries to join in protests and convince the participants that the Democratic Party, as a whole, is the vehicle of our oppressors.

CLASS

52nd Street and Cottage Grove Avenue, on Chicago's South Side, Monday, August 26, 1968, about 4:30 a.m. A couple of dozen bus drivers, most in their light-blue summer uniforms, gather around the Chicago Transit Authority's Cottage Grove bus barn, as they do at the same hour at nearly every other barn in the city. CTA is on strike, the strike called for convention week by a mostly-Black rank-

(Continued to page 7)



Open Markets
Open Season on Immigrants

By Roy San Filippo

The era of "free trade" and "open markets" is being celebrated with the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Mexico, Canada, and the US. But one commodity will not be allowed to flow freely across North American borders: labor. Instead, in this so-called "post-national age" the US will use very traditional means of state power to prevent migrant laborers from traveling into the US from Mexico. The state's visible hand, in the form of INS concentration camps, US military surveillance equipment and personnel will regulate this transnational commodity. Even the most staunch proponents of free markets support state regulation of this aspect of the economy.

NEOLIBERAL REFUGEES

Mexican workers have been migrating to the what is now the Southwestern United States at least since the 19th century. But with 15 years of neoliberal economic policies and most recently the effects of NAFTA,there has been a sharp increase in the number of workers moving northward in search of better wages. Neoliberalism has devastated the Mexican economy and help create the longest depression there since the 1920s. The gap between rich and poor in Mexico is one of the worst in the world and the gap continues to widen. Currently, the richest 10% of Mexican society receives 41% of the annual income, while the poorest half live off of only 16% of the nation's income. In the last five months alone, five million Mexicans were pushed below the poverty line, bringing the number in poverty up to 22 million people—almost one quarter of the Mexican population; seven out of ten wage earners in Mexico earn $300 or less each month.

These facts reveal the failure of neoliberal economic policies so clearly that even the *New York Times* was forced to admit it in a recent article. The *Times* notes that "Big gains in real wages and economic growth from 1963 to 1984 were wiped out as the previous two [Mexican] presidents religiously followed their open market polices."

The passage of NAFTA has only deepened the economic crisis for most of Mexican society. In 1995, one million Mexicans lost their jobs only to find themselves without social safety nets or unemployment insurance. The austerity measures imposed on Mexico by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the US eliminated the meager social safety nets that have existed in Mexico. The impact on the agricultural labor force will be even more profound. A recent study of the effects of NAFTA on Mexican peasants estimates that 1.4 million peasants will be driven from the Mexican countryside due to the importation of cheap food products from the US. Luis Tellez, the former undersecretary for planning in Mexico's Ministry of Agriculture estimates that 15 million peasants will leave agriculture in the next decade.

Many of these neoliberal refugees, faced with a failing economy and declining opportunities, will be forced to migrate north to seek employment in other parts of North America not yet destroyed by neoliberalism—either in the *maquiladoras* at the border or in the US.

NEW WORLD BORDER

[The US/Mexican border] is intended to facilitate trade in order to bring our nation the significant benefits of international commerce and industry. At the same time, it is geared to constrain . . . the free movement of people and goods in order to block the entry of illegal migrants . . .

-Alan Bersin, US attorney for the Southern District of California

With this increased migration of workers, border policing in the US has intensified. In the past six years the number of agents patrolling the border has increased 65%, and the support staff for the Border patrol has increased 89% in the Southwest. The budget for the INS has increased 72% over the past 3 years. Military technology is increasingly being utilized to create a "Maginot Line" against refugees from neoliberalism. Infrared body detectors and magnetic footfall detectors designed for use in Southeast Asia are now deployed along sections of the US border; the Army constructed a 10 foot high wall on the border south of San Diego made out of 180,000 sheets of metal originally designed as temporary landing fields for Desert Storm—Mexicans call it the "iron curtain." In March 1995, a "Border Research and Technology Center" was opened in Southern California to adapt military technology for use at the US/Mexico border. US military personnel are also increasingly being utilized at the border for construction, cargo inspections and training of Border Patrol agents; military surveillance planes and helicopters are used to prevent border crossings.

NEW WORLD IN OUR HEARTS

This is war.

-George Weise, Commissioner of the US Customs Service

In this border war, civilians have become combatants in the eyes of the state The military force amassed at the border is targeting a defenseless pool of migrant laborers who are forced to flee their families and communities in order to support themselves and their loved ones. because the Mexican economy is has been devastated after centuries of colonial exploitation, of which neoliberalism is only the latest manifestation.

In the midst of the poverty created by neoliberalism, we seek hope. In the midst of the military death machines and steel barriers that separate brothers and sisters, we seek resistance. In place of the one-sided class war being waged against us, we seek to take the fight to our oppressors. We seek a new society without borders, without bosses. But this can only be brought about by the conscious participation of many people, by a movement dedicated to total human liberation. As we come together in San Diego and Chicago we must seek to build a new world, in the here and now, even as we proceed to destroy the old.★

Chicago 1968

(Continued from page 6)

and-file caucus that organized an inconclusive earlier strike in July. I am there, working as a summer-replacement driver. This first morning, there's a strong initial show of pickets, then when it becomes clear that management won't try to get buses out, the pickets dwindle.

The strike issues needn't be detailed 28 years later. They involved both oppressive working conditions and democratic representation within the union; originally a rank-and-file issue, the strikes became a race issue as the largely Black workforce faced a white union leadership and most of the minority of white drivers stood aside or backed the leaders.

A young radical brought away in memory the pure blue of the sky on those early summer mornings—a clarity that seemed to stand for the immense power of the working class. I had already sensed that power at the beginning of the first strike, when an older worker stepped up into my bus as I passed the barn midway in my shift to say, "Finish this trip and pull in; we're on strike," and the city's bus traffic halted *like that*, with quiet spoken words.

Each day during the convention, I am at 52nd and Cottage in the morning and at the convention protests later, if I can get down there. But the two movements remain separate. While the drivers know about the protesters—quietly chuckling over the papers and the TV news, liking the protests and bemused over some of the fighting and rhetoric—the protesters have seemingly never heard of the strike.

On one night they do hear, briefly. The strike meeting that night is at a North Side church, not far from Lincoln Park, and a decision is voted to march to the park to show support for the protesters. But the meeting goes on too long and by the time a few hundred drivers march east on North Avenue toward the park, the demonstrators are marching away from the park toward some other target. The two lines of march actually pass, on opposite sides of the street, while I go to the march captains and explain what is happening. An SDS leader, Nick Eagleson, takes the bullhorn and crisply announces that the strikers have come to show solidarity and we will join them in a common rally. So the students turn round, the two crowds hold an impromptu rally, and we celebrate a moment of unity between the protest movement and the working class.

But in the long run the separate marches are the right symbol; our movement, as a whole, disdained the working class. One heard that the workers were bought-off, white, prosperous—but nobody talked to the drivers I worked with. Weatherman proclaimed that "the long-range interests of the non-colonial sections of the working class lie with overthrowing imperialism" (Weatherman manifesto)—but this was just a way of justifying their actions in Marxist jargon. Neither Weatherman nor most other factions ever tried to understand workers, Black or white—or most other Black people—except to harangue them.

After 1968, my friends and I tried for many years to organize a revolutionary wing among Black and white US workers. We were wrong about how possible this would be in our generation—but not in our belief that only such a movement could defeat the state and organize a humane society. In contrast, the majority ideas in the 1960s movement—that one could organize a peace-and-social-change wing inside the Democratic Party, or make a revolution in the US without a popular base, as an outpost of third-world revolutions—were fundamentally, morally wrong. Today as much as in 1968, the link-up that didn't quite happen on North Avenue that August night has be created, or there will be no social revolution.

The lessons of August 1968 lie both in what did happen and in what didn't. People went face to face with the state power and, on a local scale, won some victories; people launched a mass protest against the ruling wing of the Democratic Party and understood that they were warmongers and oppressors; a group of workers and a mass movement of students and youth were in struggle at the same time and, briefly, made contact. But people didn't learn the dependence of street action on mass support; they didn't reject the Democratic Party as a whole, and organize others to do so; except for a few, they didn't go on to dedicate their whole lives to building a revolutionary movement in the working class, which would have made the generation of '68 one to be remembered.

Now, an anarchist movement worthy of the name has to learn the lessons of Chicago '68: anarchism is not about alternative politics but about power; power lies in control of public space; the contest for public space requires winning people away from the Democratic Party and building a revolutionary movement in and of the working class. Those, at least, are the lessons I would draw; I would hope only that readers of this article think about them and discuss them.★

Futura Demibold has often written for L&R; s/he uses a pseudonym when s/he might be misunderstood as advocating anything illegal.

Convention Action Directory

This list is not comprehensive. It contains as much information as was available to us at press time. All events are, of course, subject to change.

San Diego

Defend WomanCare Clinic
Saturday, August 10, 5:00 p.m.
Sleepover–defend abortion providers from attack. 2850 6th Avenue
Info: WomanCare 619-298-9352

Pro-Choice Greeting Rally
Sunday, August 11, Noon
San Diego Airport
Info: SD NOW 619-238-1824

Raza Unity Convention
Sunday, August 11
San Diego City College
9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

National Raza March
Monday August 12
March against the Republican Convention
9:00 a.m. Meet at Chicano Park
11:00 a.m. March to the convention center

For information:
Raza Rights Coalition
PO Box 1842
San Diego, CA 92112
619-280-8361

Voices '96 March & Rally
Monday, August 12, 5:30 p.m.
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender response to the RNC
March from Pantoja Park (India &G Street) to the Free Speech Zone
Info: Voices '96, 619-296-2462

Pro-Choice Rally and March
Tuesday August 13, Noon
City Hall to Pantoja Park
Info: NOW (see above)

La Resistencia-March Against the Militarization of the Border
Tuesday August 13, 5:00 p.m.
San Ysidro Trolley stop to border.

Demonstrate Against the Christian Coalition
Wednesday August 14, 10:00 a.m.
Pat Robertson and Ralph Reed featured at CC rally. Balboa Park Organ Pavilion.

Chicago

Active Resistance
Counter-Convention

August 20
Begin Daily Meetings for event facilitators
Early Registration at the Autonomous Zone

August 21-25
Morning: Forums, mini-gatherings, workshops conducted by participating collectives and organizations, continuing registration and orientation
Afternoon: Core Meetings
Evening: The Autonomous Zone Free Skool hosts selected and ad hoc workshops and discussions
Night: shows, bike rides, movies & more

August 26-29
Festival of the Oppressed
Radical History Bus Tour
Special Events & Dinners
Meeting space available

August 30-31
Network of Anarchist Collectives meetings and workshops
Free Skool continues
Wrap-up of Core meetings
Closing celebration

For Active Resistance info,contact:
AUTONOMOUS ZONE
312-278-0775
2311 W. North Ave.
ugwiller@bgu.edu or chill@burn.ucsd.edu

March to "Stop the Drug War"
Saturday, August 24, 1:00 pm
March from Grant Park to United Center
Info: Cures Not Wars 312-486-8085

March & Rally to Support Immigrant Rights
Sunday, August 25
Feeder marches from North and South Side of Chicago.
Info: Coordinadora 96 & Pueblo Sin Fronteras 312-772-8383.

March for Jobs and Justice
Monday, August 26, 10:00 am
March from Grant Park to United Center
Info: Chicago People's Convention Coalition 312-641-5151

March Against Clinton and the Democratic Party's politics of repression and brutality!
August 27, 4:00 pm
Wicker Park
(1 Block South of North and Damen)
☆ Stand up against the racism of the criminal "justice" system.
☆ Free all political prisoners in US jails.
☆ Stop police brutality.
Info: *Not on the Guest List!* 312-278-6706
☆ Pre-action meeting Sunday, August 25 3:00 - 6:00 p.m. at DePaul University Schmidt Academic Center 2320 N. Kenmore

Cash The Check March
Wednesday, August 28, 3:00 p.m.
Garfield Park to the Convention Center
A coalition rally against the disenfranchisement of African-Americans.
Info: 312-268-7500 ext 152

Clinic Access Network
is organizing to defend clinics during the DNC from planned blockades being organized by Rescue America and other anti-choice groups. They are also planning to oppose other actions Operation Rescue and the Pro-Life Action Network are planning for the weed of the DNC. Info: Clinic Access Network 312-278-0775

Counter Media
is a band of media activists and Media Arts Centers formed to provide media resources for organizations and groups planning events and actions during the DNC. Media activists should plug in here. Contact via phone 312-278-0775 or xmediax@ripco.com

Chicago ACT
The August Calendar Team is assembling a calendar of ALL the events taking place surrounding the DNC. Get a complete calendar from them. Call 312-409-2093, or check the Lumpen Times website at www.lumpen.com, which also has a map of the United Center area.

Unconventional Action
UA is preparing for and coordinating acts of (un)civil disobedience done by affinity groups around the DNC. UA is a collaborative effort including activists from across the continent. UA is explicitly anti-authoritarian in goals and process.
UA's coordination will entail:
☆ a Guidebook for Action
☆ Providing local activists who can act as "tour guides" and help with info.
☆ Daily meetings during the DNC with affinity group representatives to develop general plans for action to occur the next day, and to evaluate previous actions / events.
☆ Coordinating an "equipment pool" of gear necessary for certain actions.
☆ Training workshops on self-defense, communications, working with affinity groups, dealing with cops and arrests, etc.
☆ Organizing jail support for those arrested. This will NOT include a bail fund.
☆ Establishing central communications / tactical points for actions.
☆ Organizing a Rapid Response Network for sudden situations that may arise during the convention.

UNCONVENTIONAL ACTION
858 W. Armitage #349
Chicago, IL 60614
an623385@anon.penet.fi

Organizational Directory

This list is by no means comprehensive. It is a guide to some national anti-authoritarian groups and campaigns that you can join.

Anti-Authoritarian Organizations

Anarchist Black Cross Federation
PO Box 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508
201-357-0994

A national federation of groups in support of political prisoners and POWs in the US.

Anti-Authoritarian Network of Community Organizers
c/o Georgia Anti-Authoritarian Group
PO Box 144
Hiram, GA 30141

AANCO is a network of anti-authoritarians who are committed to community organizing.

Anti-Racist Action Network
c/o Minneapolis ARA
PO Box 80239
Minneapolis, MN 55408
612-649-4586

A network in the US & Canada of direct action anti-racist groups.

Food Not Bombs
3145 Geary Blvd. #12
San Francisco, CA 94118
1-800-884-1136

Nonviolent, all-volunteer network that provides free, hot vegetarian meals and political support to low income people in over 75 communities in North America and Europe.

Industrial Workers of the World
1095 Market Street, Suite 204
San Francisco, CA 94103

Trying to build one big union to bring together all workers to win workplace struggles and defeat capitalism.

Love & Rage Federation *(that's us!)*
1929 S. 5th Street
Minneapolis, MN 55454
612-288-0405

Continental revolutionary anarchist federation, with working groups focusing on anti-fascism, Mexico solidarity, and prisons. Publishes Love & Rage *and* Amor y Rabia.

Network of Anarchist Collectives
c/o A-Zone, 1573 N. Milwaukee #420
Chicago, IL 60622
312-278-0775
ugwiller@bgu.edu

Decentralized network of autonomous local collectives. Publishes (dis)connection *newsletter.*

Workers Solidarity Alliance
339 Lafayette Street, Room 202
New York, NY 10012
212-979-8353

A national working class anarcho-syndicalist organization. The US affiliate of the International Workers Association.

Issue-based Organizations

Campaign 96 Coordinandora
c/o Immigrant Workers Association
638 E. 6th Street
New York, NY 10009
212-505-0001

Campaign 96 is organizing a massive march in DC on October 12, 1996 for full rights for immigrants and the poor.

Fightback Network
c/o BACORR
750 La Playa #30
San Francisco, CA 94121
415-437-4032

A radical feminist network that coordinates clinic defense and other feminist activities, pushing for a more militant approach in confronting the Christian Right and the anti-abortion movement.

International Concerned Friends & Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal
PO Box 19709
Philadelphia, PA 19143
215-476-8812

ICFFMAJ coordinates the effort to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Contact them for local group info or resources.

La Resistencia
4406 Park Blvd. #B
San Diego, CA 92116
619-497-1035

La Resistencia is a national movement supporting immigrants and fighting anti-immigrant repression.

National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons
c/o AFSC
972 Broad Street, 6th Floor
Newark, NJ 07102
201-643-3079

NCSCUP coordinates the national effort to shut down control unit prisons. Many local groups and activists are involved.

National Commission for Democracy in Mexico
601 N. Cotton, Suite A103
El Paso, TX 79902
915-532-8382
moonlight@igc.apc.org

The NCDM is the official Zapatista solidarity organization in North America.

LOVE & RAGE

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER

Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Attica Prison Uprising

Volume 7, Number 4 August / Sept 1996 $1

Anti-Racists Battle Cops & Klan in Ann Arbor

BY MIKE E., DETROIT ARA

On June 22, at a 500-strong anti-Klan demonstration, eight anti-racist demonstrators were arrested in a stand-off with the state, county, city and University police forces in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Cops broke one antiracist's leg.

At present, five young men face trial and possible sentences of up to four years per count. All are charged with various counts of "assault with dangerous weapons" on police. A sixth young man faces charges as a juvenile. Two defendants, including a woman from Detroit ARA, had assault charges dropped at a July 3 preliminary hearing.

Two anti-Klan rallies occurred that Saturday morning. One was organized by a coalition called Ann Arbor Organized Against the Klan (A2OAK). This formation included the IWW, the Trotskyist League, Labor Party Advocates, Workers World Party, and a few local formations. Detroit ARA endorsed this effort. The other initiative came from the National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC) / Revolutionary Workers' League (RWL).

Late in the morning participants from both rallies marched towards the combined city hall/police station. ARA members from Detroit, Flint, and Lansing were present in both movements on city hall. The two marches merged en route into a combined force of three hundred. On the second story landing of city hall, the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were to appear surrounded by a perimeter of cyclone fencing and 200 cops drawn from various agencies. After reaching the joint Klan / Kop encampment, the anti-racists' numbers grew to five hundred.

Once there, demonstrators ignored a pen area on South 5th street that had been designated by the police as the protest site. Instead, demonstrators massed along East Huron, adjacent to City Hall. At one point, a pro-Klan type, festooned with Confederate flags and SS lightning bolt tattoos, was driven from the fringes of the demonstration. This incident was featured in the national media coverage after a young Black woman protester shielded the man from additional blows after he hit the ground.

Later, fifteen Klan members appeared on the rooftops and were met with jeers and an occasional projectile. People soon sensed an end to the Klan's appearance. In small groups at first, then in larger movements, anti-racists circled City Hall and took up position on Ann Street. Here they began blocking an obvious exit point for vehicles containing Klan members. Faced with this mass attempt to interfere with the planned exit and a few defiant yanks on the cyclone fence adorned with a sign reading, "Touch this fence and you will be maced," the pigs attacked.

Until this point, nothing had been thrown at the cops except a barrage of verbal challenges to their societal role and a few donuts lobbed in jest over the far corner of the fence.

Cops sprayed streams of mace on the crowd along Ann Street. Enraged people responded by throwing things at the police. When attack teams exited the compound to make arrests, people grappled with the cops to unarrest folks, bombarding the arrest teams with anything that wasn't nailed down. The cops retreated to the perimeter with some captured anti-racists. For a short while sections of the crowd carried the battle to the police. Rock and brick throwing sorties were launched against points along the police fence lines. The now plentiful tear gas canisters were hurled back into the Klan/Kop fortress.

Larger numbers of police soon assembled on Ann Street and began to slowly drive the

(Continued to page 14)

Mass Riot Hits Quebec city

DEMANARCHIE ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE GETS THE BLAME

BY NICK PHEBUS

Quebec – June 23, eve of the St.-Jean Baptiste national holiday, saw the biggest riot to hit Quebec city in the last 30 years. More than 2,000 *young rioters battled with the cops, looted more than 80 stores and, for the first time in history the national assembly,* where the government meets, was trashed and almost burned. The police and the media went on to find a scapegoat. Although they were first pointing to an unnamed extreme right-wing group, with *the help of the World Anti-fascist* League, they blamed anarchists, saying that *Demanarchie* newspaper and militants in particular were "professional agitators" and that the paper was "an incitement to riot." As a result houses were raided and activists arrested, in *both Quebec and Montreal.*

Gilles Drolet, head of the Quebec city police criminal investigation branch, displays copy of anarchist newspaper *Demanarchie*, blaming them for the riots.

QUEBEC-WIDE SUMMER OF RIOTS

It was not the first riot this summer in Quebec. On May 3 hundreds of youths (some talk of a thousand) battled with the cops for more than four hours. A handful of shop windows were smashed, and flaming barricades were set up in Quebec city. Then on May 17, another riot broke out when 200 punks battled the cops in Montreal and looted several stores on St.-Laurence Blvd. On June 23 Quebec exploded again, and on the 24th it was Trois Rivieres' turn to riot when 500 youths tried to smash the downtown area (stopped in time by the police while they were on their way to glory). Even more, this year is the third St.-Jean Baptiste eve in a row to end in a riot in Quebec city.

Demanarchie's summer issue came out in early June, just in the middle of this riot me
They clearly support the rioters and poin
to neo-liberal politics, poverty, margin
ization and criminalization of the youths
causes for riots. Alcohol, the weather a
outside agitators were pointed to by eve
one else. But they were only margina
incitements here, and certainly not causes
Demanarchie also says that if nothing
done, there will be other riots. To say th
and print it, was our only "crime."

So the state and the media were
able to blame the June 23 riot on Nort
Hammer Skins and Demanarchie, t
groups that are marginal in society, a
above all, easy targets. Of course the pol
won't attack nazis, except in print, so the
attacked Demanarchie.

First they went to our postal box and
raided the house linked to it, a house where
three people not linked to Demanarchie
lived. They only found a couple of copies
of *Demanarchie*, arrested five people pre-
sent at the time and seized six pot plants.
No jackpot. Then they arrested a militant
doing street sales, saying he was inciting a
riot. They raided his house, seized a com-
puter and some anarchist literature.
Because he was an actual member of the
collective, they claimed to have found
"the" leader. Then they went to the
Montreal postal box, and seized a computer
and still more literature at the house linked
to that box.

THE COPS MADE A BIG MISTAKE

By attacking the anarchist movement in Quebec city at a moment when it is so small that it could not even dream of being able to do what it is accused of doing, it is the cops and media who are inciting riots and leading thousands of youths into rebellion. The state clearly made a mistake. In Quebec city there are only two organized anarchist groups: Food not Bombs and Demanarchie. Food not Bombs are activists that have been organizing in town for the past three years. They clearly label themselves pacifist left-wing anarchists and publish a small street-zine called "Ha... Basta!" *Demanarchie* is a newspaper that was originally published in Montreal. For years they have been exchanging politically with the Quebec pre-FNB crew, and a local group was establish in January. All in all, we're talking about maybe 20 people.

The attack gave the anarchists, and their ideas, a publicity that they will probably never get again. The cops activities and the media's lies are not placing the milieu in a lethal or even a dangerous position. Let's

(Continued to page 14)

New Armed Group in Mexico

EPR Spells Trouble for the Mexican State

BY GENE, NEW YORK ABC

On June 28, 1995, in Aguas Blancas, in the state of Guerrero, policemen massacred 17 campesinos on their way to an organizing rally of the Organization of Campesinos of the Southern Sierra (the OCSS was founded in 1994). The state police were videotaped executing the campesinos and then planting arms on them. The tape, shown on national television, created a large enough scandal to make President Zedillo force governor Rubén Figueroa Alcocer from office. As governor, he had covered up and defended the massacre, claiming that the peasants had "died in battle." He was trying to bring down repression on the legal organizations by claiming they were subversive. A supreme court investigation implicated the state's top officials, including the governor in the massacre, but no one has been charged with any crimes.

THE POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY ARMY INTRODUCES ITSELF

In Aguas Blancas this past June 28, an estimated 40-70 men armed with AK-47's and R-15 assault rifles calling themselves the Popular Revolutionary Army (Ejército Popular Revolucionario - EPR) staged a media spectacle when they interrupted the ceremony commemorating the first anniversary of the massacre. They fired 17 shots in memoriam to those killed and read a manifesto (the Aguas Blancas manifesto).

The group claimed to have 500 men and women fighters from Guerrero, no connection with the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), and to be for a "democratic and revolutionary transformation of [their] homeland." Several hours later state police at the town of Zumpango del Rio along the Chilipancingo-Acapulco road exchanged fire with around 20 armed men. Four were reported wounded including one suspected guerrilla.

CLASH IMMINENT

In a statement on July 3, the EPR said they had not yet declared war on the Mexican government, but that harassment and intimidation by government forces meant an armed clash was imminent. They said their group developed in response to "militarization in the state of Guerrero."

On July 16 the EPR ambushed an army jeep, one civilian was reportedly killed and one injured. An army captain was shot. Before the action (reported as their first offensive action) 5 masked persons with AK-47's handed out the manifesto read on the 28th by the EPR in the streets of Chilapa, near where the incident took place.

GUERRERO

Guerrero has been militarized for some time. Marginalization and misery, a high incidence of criminal activity, a wave of kidnappings, narcotraffic, the numerous and visible presence of the Mexican army throughout the whole Costa Grande region, government violence, and the continuing presence of caciques and their henchmen are all part of the recent history of Guerrero. Human rights abuses by the local and federal police are rampant.

Guerrilla groups led by Genaro Vásquez Rojas and Lucio Cabañas were active

(Continued to page 11)

What is Love & Rage?

Love and Rage is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, Mexico and the US who share a set of common politics and who work on common political projects. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production Group is made up of volunteers and one full-time staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City and publishes an internal discussion bulletin, in addition to supporting and initiating various actions and campaigns.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by an annual conference, or between conferences by the Federation Council.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. If you are in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation and are interested in getting involved, contact the Federation Office or your local contact. Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in Federation projects.

Amor y Rabia
Paseo de la Reforma #324, Suite 1-358
Colonia Juarez CP 06605
Mexico, DF MEXICO
(Don't address envelope to Amor y Rabia)

L&R Federation Office, and
Anti-Fascist Working Group
1929 S. 5th Street
Minneapolis, MN 55454
email: TWOB12@aol.com

Love and Rage Newspaper,
Mexican Solidarity Working Group,
and Prison Abolition Working Group
PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009
(718) 834-9077
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Love and Rage is printed on recycled paper, using soy-based inks, by a union printer. ISSN # 1065-2000. If you are having trouble getting the paper, please call or write to the newspaper office.

Boring Disclaimer

The articles we print do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation, unless specifically marked. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with, because we believe that they are interesting, provocative, or raise important issues for the revolutionary movement. Some articles represent one view among many views held by Love & Rage members on a topic.

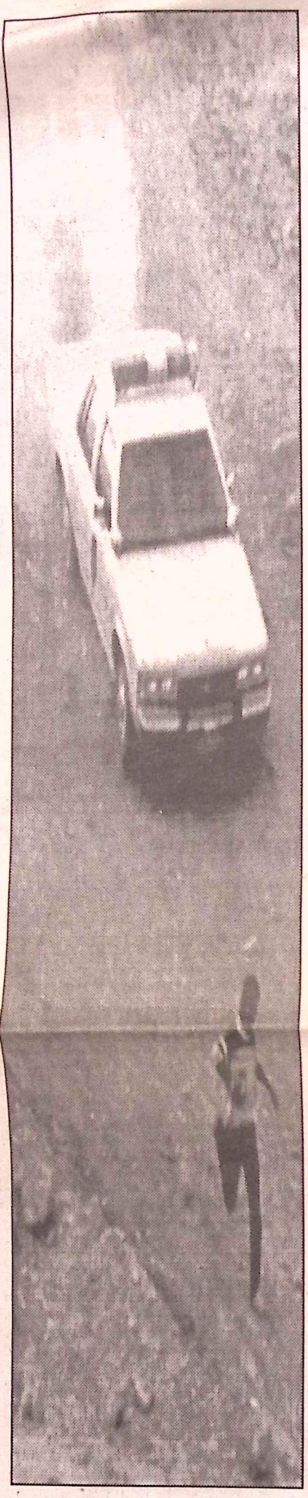
Submit to Love & Rage

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1750 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. Submissions may be edited. Please include a phone number and address or internet email address so we can consult you on editing. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is a request that they not be published. Letters will not be edited.

About Our Politics...

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is in the process of developing a statement of our common politics (yeah, it's a long process). The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

Love and Rage is a bi-monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better-organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions, and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.



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FEDERATION NOTES

projects & events organized by the Love & Rage Federation

SUMMER ORGANIZING TOUR

Two members of Love & Rage went on a summer organizing tour in July and August, traveling throughout the US and Canada to meet with revolutionary anti-authoritarian activists. Productive meetings have been held in many cities, strengthening dialogue about strategy as well as promoting a greater understanding of where the movement is at these days overall. Look for an article in the next issue of Love & Rage on the state of the North American anarchist movement.

ARA NETWORK

Love and Rage members primarily in the Midwest continue to bring young anti-racists together in direct-action oriented ARA local groups to fight white supremacy. Plan now to come out to the upcoming ARA network conference Oct. 18-20 in Columbus, Ohio, where we hope to solidify the network, and adopt a democratic decision-making structure that should make us stronger and meaner.

CONVENTION ACTIONS

We're gearing up for both the Republican and Democratic convention protests. We're printing 5,000 copies of a special 8-page broadsheet edition *Love & Rage* to distribute free at the convention protests.

Both conventions are shaping up to be politically charged—on the inside and on the outside. The Republican Convention in San Diego will largely focus on abortion and immigration—two issues that Love & Rage sees as crucial to build mass movements around. The right is mobilizing to attack—*we'll be there to oppose them every* step of the way.

The Democratic Convention in Chicago is more interesting for what will happen in the streets than inside the United Center. All eyes will be on the outside of the convention to see if there will be a repeat of 1968. History doesn't repeat itself in that way though.

Fortunately Chicago has one of the most vibrant radical left scenes (and anarchist scenes) in the US. The Autonomous Zone infoshop has done an amazing job organizing to put together a counterconvention, and is the center of all kinds of organizing against the convention. Their efforts will bring thousands of young people to demonstrate their disgust with the Democrats. Other left groups have joined together in the *Not on the Guest List!* coalition to protest Clinton's policies of increased police, prisons, and repression. Many other groups will also demonstrate their dislike for the Democrats. Chicago 1996 may not be a rerun of 1968, but it has the potential to be something much more significant—an inspiration and catalyst for new movements for a new era.★

GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES. THEY NEED YOUR HELP. JOIN THE FEDERATION.

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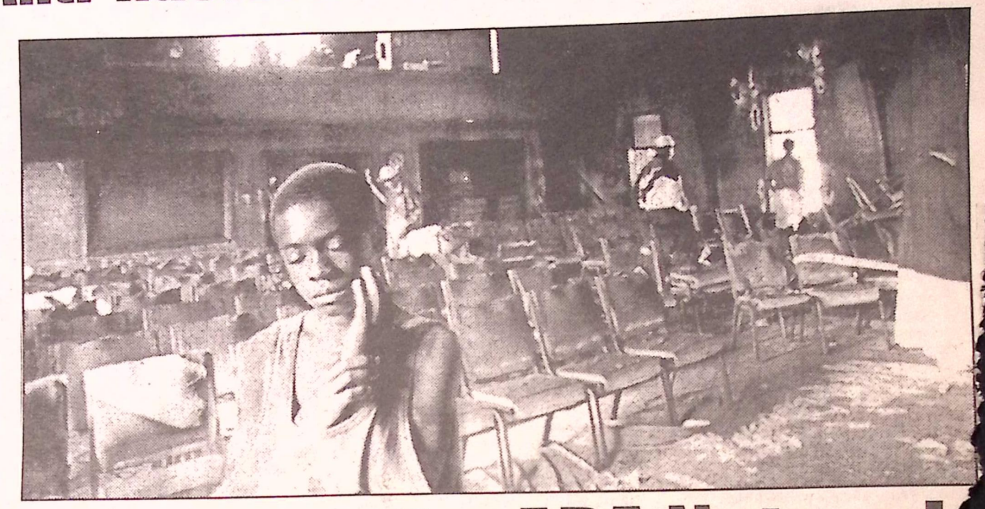
If you find yourself in general agreement with the politics of Love & Rage, get involved! Contact one of the local groups listed here, or write the Love& Rage Federation Office in Minneapolis for inforrmation.

Racist Pyromania Grips South
Build the Anti-Racist Resistance Movement

By Rebecca H.



Between 1963 and 1964 in Mississippi, hundreds of Black churches were burned down in response to massive civil rights organizing that was undoing Jim Crow. The Federal government was slow to react. In fact, they did not bring in help until two white men and one Black man disappeared at the beginning of the famous "Freedom Summer" of 1964.

Now, as the summer of 1996 gets hotter, the nation as a whole is first hearing of a rash of racist church burnings that has been going on since January 1990. As civil rights activists asked in 1964, we must ask why has there been no publicity until now?

The federal government's response to the arson might be a little better than it was in the '60s, but even at this late date, the state is still up to its old dirty tricks. FBI and ATF agents continue to question Black church members and to fingerprint Black pastors—implying that Black churchgoers all over the South are seized with pyro-maniacal frenzy.

But with the increasing number of arrests of white men between ages 14 and 45, even the feds may be coming around to recognize who's been up to no good in the South. Now, in efforts to appear "holier than thou," politicians of every stripe are quick to denounce the burnings and even the misconduct of local and state law enforcement.

The Christian Right has denounced the burnings in the name of Christianity. We only wish they "practiced what they preached." Ralph Reed's Christian Coalition is not only connected to groups explicitly linked with Nazi groups (such as Operation Rescue) but also to more "moderate" "ex"-segregationists like Jesse Helms and Strom Thurmond, two senators from the Carolinas who have built their political careers with race-baiting and voter fraud.

As if all this weren't scary enough, the fact is that today's church burnings are different from those in the 1960s because they are on the "offensive" rather than on the "defensive." When the KKK resurfaced in Mississippi in the 1960s, it represented the dying flames of Jim Crow. Today's burners are a different breed: younger and—if possible—more sadistic. The burnings of churches happening in the last six years occur in a context of increasing randomly-directed racist violence against individuals and families. Skinhead marines go out and kill a Black couple for fun; swastikas appear on church doors. Dramatic, spectacular violence has become the order of the day.

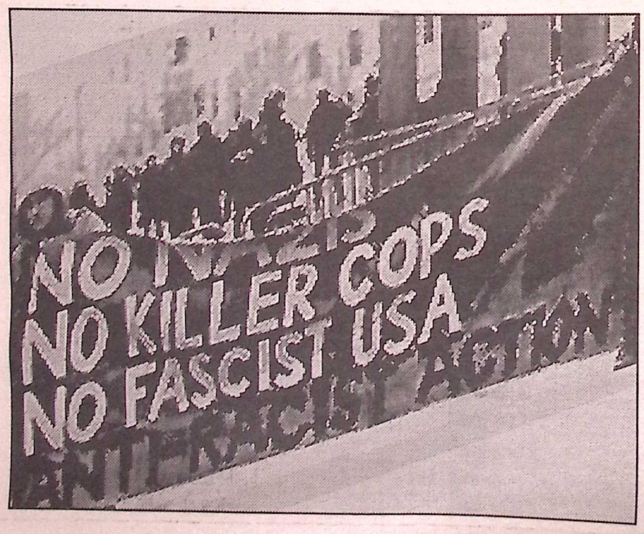
When churches burned in the 1960s it was the reaction of a cornered "dying order" to a revolution in Southern life. When "Judge Lynch" reigned in the 1880s and 1920s—it was a backlash against Black progress attained during reconstruction and the first world war.

Where is the advancement that this latest rash of burnings seeks to stop? While some of the burning seems to be connected to the desire to drive Black people off their land as the South's economy becomes more attractive, much of the racist terror seems simply paranoid, more similar to skinhead attacks against Turkish immigrants than to America's own history of domestic terrorism. Affirmative Action and the Voting Rights Act have been under attack in Congress; the number of Black men in prison and death row is out of proportion to the population.

These paranoid "thrill-kill" burnings and other racist attacks should make us figure out (if we haven't already) that "it can happen here." While some might call it paranoid to imagine a fascist movement succeeding in America, the church burnings, along with attacks on abortion clinics, bombings of federal buildings and other incidents of racist, sexist and homophobic violence are a sign of the increasing boldness of the American far right.

All of us in revolutionary movements need to come up with creative ways to fight this new offensive—not in the courts—but in the streets. Church groups who have gone South to aid Black churches have the right idea; bringing communities together in the face of a right-wing onslaught is the first step towards opposition to fascism. But without a radical agenda these coalitions will remain limited to self-help and defensive reaction.

We need to start with these ties of mutual aid in communities to build new grassroots movements that oppose fascism in ways that fit local contexts. It is from broad-based movements such as those now being built in Southern communities in response to racist violence that a genuine people's anti-fascist movement will emerge.★



The ARA Network
On the Move Against Racism

By Katrina

Racism in America is on the rise. In the last 18 months thirty-eight Black churches have been burned down across the South in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. On June 20, a Black church was burned in Portland, Oregon, moving the trend and spreading it to the Northwest, which like the South has a high concentration of organized racists. Portland, Oregon is home to more than 200 nazi-skinheads, the city is 87% white, and racism is rampant.

> *"It's time for an organized attack against racism."*

The events of this past year and a half should be a wake up call to everyone in America. Racist terror hasn't gone away and it's not going to until we start to deal with it in a real way. So far the strategy to fight this has been to rely on the local and federal cops to investigate and bust the *individuals* responsible for these acts of arson. This completely ignores the fact that a climate of racial hatred has been allowed to grow across the country and especially in the South and the Northwest, where the Ku Klux Klan and nazi-skinheads are building their movements rapidly. We need to build a movement that confronts them every chance we get. Some liberal anti-Klan groups have gone after the Klan through the courts. Lawsuits may hinder their recruitment somewhat, and I'm all for taking money from the Klan. But lawsuits can't stop leaderless resistance (the decentralized structure and strategy used by much of the racist right) and don't give a clear message that racism will not be tolerated. It's time for an organized attack on racism.

Last year the Anti-Racist Action Network was formed. This network of anti-racist activist groups in the US and Canada is concentrated mostly in the Midwest. We are committed to confronting all forms of racism through direct action. The Anti-Racist Action Network mobilizes to be a militant anti-racist force at Klan rallies. The goal is not just to protest the rallies but to try to shut them down. We need to keep the Klan from recruiting, and spread the word that racism is not all right, and that it is going to be fought in the streets and at the steps of every capitol building where they try to speak.

Racism doesn't just come dress[ed] white hoods. The police, who a[re] largest, most brutal group of orga[nized] racists, have been bringing harassme[nt] violence to people of color since the[y] given the power to do so. And lik[e] Klan, they aren't going to be stopped [by] few lawsuits. Liberals complain abo[ut] "few bad cops." The few are so bad[ly] claim, that they have given the whole [force] a bad name. The unfortunate truth is [that] cops are doing their job exactly right. [Their] job is to protect the property of the ri[ch] from the poor, and to protect white pe[ople's] people's privilege in return for their loyalty [to] a corrupt system.

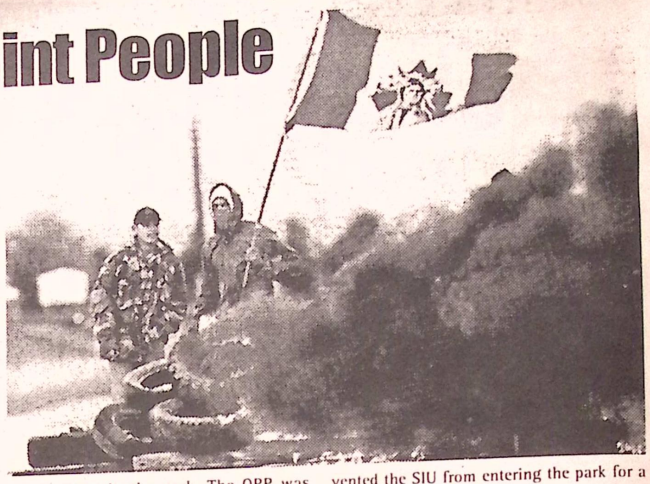
Anti-Racist Action makes the connections and the distinctions between the State that perpetrates institutional racism, and groups of organized racists that commit and inspire the church burnings. The State won't openly support the burning of Black churches (they're probably actually freaked out by it) but they are more than willing to spend mad dollars every year to protect the Klan's right to "free speech." Whenever the Klan decides to speak on the steps of a government building they can count on complete protection from the State. Which means fences surrounding the Klan, pens set up around anti-racist protesters, and riot cops by the hundreds. Sometimes they even supply police snipers with their guns aimed at anti-Klan protesters! We can't rely on the same government that goes to great lengths to protect recruitment opportunities for organized racists to stop racist terror as their movements grow.

ARA groups are committed to fighting racism in all its forms. Recognizing police as a racist force that are terrorizing people of color in every community is a central part of combating racism in the US and Canada. Many ARA groups make anti-cop strategy a large part of their work. Also building groups that have a commitment to fighting sexism and homophobia is a necessity even in a group specifically focused on fighting racism. The fascists don't limit their agenda just to race—they also have anti-woman and anti-queer politics. So we have this Network of anti-racist activists committed to confronting the cops

(Continued to page 7)

Justice for the Stoney Point People

26 Charged in Occupation of Ipperwash Park



BY TARIQ HASSAN-GORDON

The pre-trial for the Stoney Point First Nation took place on June 27, 1996 at the Sarnia Provincial Court. 26 people face two criminal charges each: one count of forcible entry and one count of forcible detaining of a park. All charges relate to the September 4, 1995 occupation of Ipperwash Provincial Park in southwestern Ontario.

The criminal charges, which carry a maximum of two years in prison, were issued by the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) on February 12, 1996, six months after the shooting death of Dudley George by the OPP. The trial date for the 26 Stoney Point members has been set for two weeks beginning October 21, 1996 in Sarnia.

Despite the fact that the Canadian federal government released documents on September 14, 1995 indicating that there was an Aboriginal burial ground in the provincial park, the police continue to treat the situation as an illegal occupation.

According to Marcia Simon, treasurer of the Stoney Point Legal Fund, the charges against the 26 people are part of an overall strategy of harassment and criminalization of the political struggle to regain the conceded Stoney Point traditional territory.

In 1942 the Department of National Defense under the War Measures Act relocated some of the people of Stoney Point Reserve #43 to swampland in the nearby Kettle Point Reserve #44. Others became refugees and were dispersed across Ontario. This relocation was supposed to be temporary.

On May 31, 1946, the "Advanced Infantry Training Centre" closed. Then, from 1960 until 1992, the land was used for six week summer cadet training camps. Throughout the 1980s the federal government attempted to settle the land claim with the Kettle Point reserve. Stoney Point people protested to the federal government and demanded that the land be returned to Stoney Point. The federal government refused to recognize the Stoney Point People as a separate community and then renamed Kettle Point as Kettle and Stony Point.

In May 1993, 50 years after the relocation, a small group of the original Stoney Point residents and their families reoccupied the military camp. According to Marcia Simon, "the long term goal is for recognition of the Stoney Point First Nation #43" and the return of their territory which was appropriated by the federal government in 1942.

Unfortunately the federal government will only negotiate the return of the land with the Kettle and Stony Point Reserve. The media have portrayed the Stoney Point people as a break-away group without any legitimate claim to the land. They have attempted to portray the conflict between Kettle Point and Stoney Point as an internal issue.

Two years after the initial reoccupation, around 100 members of Stoney Point moved into the Ipperwash military barracks. Between 15 and 20 military personnel were evacuated from the barracks. The barracks are located on the southwest corner of the reserve.

On September 4, 1995 Stoney Point occupied Ipperwash Provincial Park. The occupation of Ipperwash was done in an attempt to return all the territory lost over the past 60 years to the original Stoney Point community.

The new Conservative provincial government refused to intervene and an order was give to confront the occupiers. A full day before the police moved against the Stoney Point people occupying Ipperwash Provincial Park, the Ontario Provincial Police began a massive buildup of force including snipers, riot squad members and tactical response unit members armed with machine guns. The OPP contacted the Canadian Army to provide additional assistance.

The OPP's request to the army called for the provision of fifty gas masks with carriers, fifty pairs of night vision goggles, equipment for intercepting cellular telephone calls, one hundred bulletproof vests, two Huey helicopters and two Bison personnel carriers.

Gerald George, a Kettle and Stony Point Band Councilor, made a complaint to the Ontario Provincial Police at 8:19 p.m. after being involved in a confrontation with Stoney Pointers in Ipperwash Park. 250 OPP officers were mobilized against about 35 protesters in the park. The OPP was responding to the incident that took place earlier that evening with the intention of arresting a suspect in the alleged assault.

At least 50 bottles of alcohol were consumed by the OPP before entering the park. Forty riot police broke formation and attacked the protesters, beating Bernard George, also a Kettle and Stony Point band councilor. Bernard was later hospitalized for two days and charged with assaulting police. In an attempt to separate the police from the protesters, a youth drove a school bus between the two groups. Over seven OPP Officers opened fire on the bus, injuring the driver. The OPP fired 1,000 bullets into the park. Dudley George, who was standing some distance from the bus, was hit by a bullet.

Marcia Simon was assaulted and arrested when she attempted to phone an ambulance. Dudley's brother and two others took him to a hospital and were arrested for attempted murder. Dudley George died from the bullet wounds.

The Special Investigations Unit (SIU) is required to file their report no more than 90 days after a shooting incident takes place. The SIU, nine months after the shooting death of Dudley George, have yet to file their report. One reason for the delay is the Ontario Provincial Police's obstruction of the investigation and refusal to cooperate. The SIU arrived within hours of the shooting on September 6, 1995, but the OPP prevented the SIU from entering the park for a full two weeks.

Then on May 17, 1996 the SIU was denied a request for photographs of police officers who threatened Dudley George shortly before he was killed. Fellow demonstrators say Dudley George was told he would be the "first" when police confronted protesters at the park. The court will decide whether or not to grant a search warrant at a hearing on September 18, 1996. Until then the Special Investigations Unit cannot complete their report.★

For more information contact:
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fax: (519) 786-6642

Anti-Colonial Action Alliance
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Peterborough, ON
CANADA K9H 2L1
e-mail: thassan@trentu.ca

The trial starts on October 21, 1996.
The Stoney Point People need
$50,000 for legal expenses.

You can make a direct deposit to :
Stoney Point Legal Fund
Toronto Dominion Bank
Transit #36242
Account #522

ictory for German Anti-Fascists!

Charges Dropped Against Autonome Antifa (M)

In the last issue of Love & Rage, we reported on the repression and pending trials against the German Anti-Fascist group, Autonome Antifa (M). We are pleased to reprint the following press release from Autonome Antifa (M) of July 1, 1996, announcing that the trials are canceled and all charges against them have been dropped.

BY AUTONOME ANTIFA (M)

The Autonome Antifa (M) was investigated 2 1/2 years long for being a terrorist organization, then 2 1/2 years long for being a criminal organization. 13,292 telephone calls were tapped and transcribed. 143 people were checked with all available technical means for being possible members of the Autonome Antifa (M). Visitors of political events and public presentations were filmed and 30 raids were carried out. In the end 17 people were charged. The highest German court was called in to decide if the charges would be brought to trial. 131 court dates were set for 3 times per week in a town over 250 kilometers from Göttingen [where the defendants are from—L&R]. 380,000 DM in funding was approved to turn a stable into a special courtroom for the trial.

The only thing that remains from all of this is a fine with a statement from the defendants tacked onto it.

For months the state attorney general's office and the court tried to pressure the defendants into distancing themselves from the politics of the Autonome Antifa (M) and to admit to having committed crimes. In exchange, the charges would have been dropped and the defendants freed from certain financial ruin and a possible conviction.

The defendants refused this plea bargain, clearly an attempt to defeat the Autonome Antifa (M) politically if not judicially. In the past few months the conditions for an out-of-court settlement have been watered down significantly.

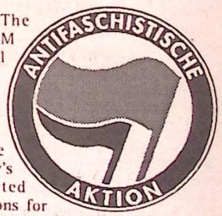
The current conditions for the out-of-court settlement are:

1. The defendants' lawyers declare that they have informed their clients about the content of the assembly laws and the defendants, in turn, state that they "will take them into account."

2. Each defendant pays 3,000 DM to a former concentration camp memorial and museum.

3. The items seized in the raids on July 5 and 6, 1994, including the computers, will be returned. Documents from the Autonome Antifa (M) will be given to the Institute for Social Research in Hamburg.

All investigations against the 17 defendants and the further 17 suspects in the case will be dropped. All related cases and investigations surrounding the demonstrations initiated by the Autonome Antifa (M) since the raids in July 1994 will also be stopped. The millions of DM in costs will all, without exception, be paid by the state.



At first the state attorney's office rejected these conditions for an out-of-court settlement. On June 25, 1995, with the added condition that they retain the monopoly on interpretation of the conditions, they agreed. The defendants are not allowed "to contradict the state attorney's office's interpretation of the statement" until the charges are officially dropped in the end of July 1996.

Not only did the state attorney's office put a political muzzle on the defendants, but also told the state court how it is supposed to interpret the statement. This statement, regardless of how it is interpreted, has absolutely no judicial meaning. The interpretation from the state attorney's office is simply the desperate attempt to find a political justification for the immense and, in the end, unsuccessful investigations.

The Autonome Antifa (M) still has the responsibility to fight the roots of fascism. Just as it has in the past, the Autonome Antifa (M) will continue to use adequate means in its political engagement.★

For more information:
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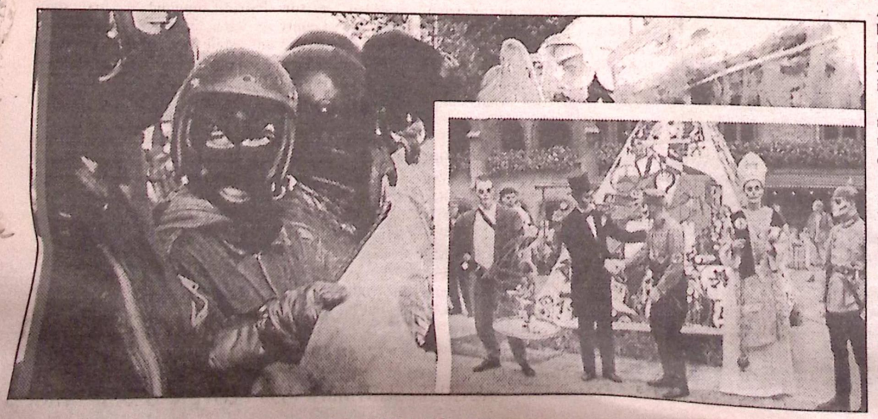
email: aam@paxo.nadir.org
WWW: http://www.nadir.org/Gruppen/aam



Anarchist Black Cross Updates

THE ABC FEDERATION

The ABC Federation exists to coordinate support for Political Prisoners and POWs in the US. They produce a bimonthly ABC Federation Update as well as a Warchest Financial Report. To get these publications write to New Jersey ABC.

The ABC Federation now has an internet web page, with up to date information on the federation's projects. The address is http://www.jaxnet.com/~yamjxabc/index.html.

The 1997 PP / POW calendar will be available in mid-September. The calendar is a fundraiser for the prisoners featured in it. This year's calendar will feature Tom Manning, Ricardo Jiminez, Dylcia Pagan, Jihad Abdul Mummit, the MOVE 9, Linda Evans, Richard Williams, Marshall Eddie Conway, and others. To order copies, contact New Jersey ABC.

The ABC Federation also has two new pamphlets available. One highlights writings by Mutulu Shakur, and is available for $2.50. The other is titled "Effects and Uses of Control Unit Prisons," featuring interviews with Jalil Muntaqin and Sundiata Acoli. It is available for $1.

Anarchist Black Cross News & Notes

WARCHEST FOR PP / POWS

The ABC Federation's Warchest program, initiated in Nov. 1994, continues to go strong. Every month, checks go to those Political Prisoners or Prisoners of War who have been receiving insufficient, little, or no support during their imprisonment. The program is currently supporting four prisoners by sending them checks of $60 each month. There is also an emergency fund, which supports prisoners with an urgent need for funds. A Prisoners Committee, consisting of five PP/POWs, gives guidance to the War Chest, *suggesting prisoners who need support and ideas on expanding the program.*

The consistency of the Warchest program is having an impact, but there are always more prisoners who need support. You can endorse this program by giving $5 per week ($20 per month) or any other amount to this effort to increase the number of prisoners being supported. A newsletter is published every two months that documents all money received and the prisoners it was sent to. The prisoners' addresses are also printed so that endorsers may write to the prisoners directly to hold the War Chest program accountable to its claims. To get the Warchest newsletter, or to give money, contact New Jersey ABC.

MINNEAPOLIS ABC

In June, one member of Minneapolis ABC went to the East Coast, meeting with New York ABC, and visiting many political prisoners, including Jalil Muntaqin, Ojore Lutalo, Oma'ri Atiba Al'Sincere, and U'Bay Lumumba. Another member of Minneapolis ABC went to Philadelphia for the July 4 demonstration in support of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

In August Minneapolis ABC will be launching a new Anti-Genocide Campaign. Get in touch for details and to get involved. Additionally, ABC will be working to fight new segregation policies at Oak Park Heights prison. The new policies for prisoners in segregation will take away all phone calls to families and friends, disallow all visits, and allow prisoners only three hours per week out of their cells.

NEW LITERATURE FROM ABC-DC

The new issue of *Claustrophobia*, the newspaper published by ABC-DC, includes writings by prisoners in the US as well as prison activists on the outside. *Claustrophobia* is the only ABC newspaper in the US, and advances discussion around prison abolitionist politics. To order copies, send at least a buck to ABC-DC (free for prisoners).

ABC-DC's Freeing Spirit Reading Service has some new pamphlets available free to prisoners, in addition to the hundreds of currently available titles (prisoners should write to ABC-DC for the list). The new pamphlets include an interview with KRS-1, articles by Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin, and pamphlets on Rastafarianism.

NEW YORK ABC

In September, NYC ABC will hold two events commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the prison uprising and subsequent massacre of prisoners at Attica State Prison in 1971. See article in this issue for other information on Attica. NYC ABC also has a new issue available of *Resistance*, the bimonthly newsletter of the ABC Emergency Response Network (ERN). Contact them to get on the ERN mailing list.

JACKSONVILLE ABC

We here in JacKKKsonville, in case some of you do not know, were arrested on two separate occasions for our activities in the community. Robert M. Cluesman was arrested on Jan. 12, 1996, for a "Suspended License"; he was greeted at his front door by 22+ Swat Team officers. He was arrested and interrogated for several hours as to where the YAM/ABC got its money, how many members we had, etc. Justin Tishy, Chris Harden and Jenny Gates were in the house. They were held at gunpoint and interrogated for hours as well. The police had NO search warrant and were asked to leave several times. They confiscated pamphlets, spray paint, stencils, radio equipment, and two legally owned shotguns. Robert was released on Jan. 15.

On Jan. 22, 1996, the police raided the home again and arrested Robert. They arrested Justin and Chris at their work (resulting in the loss of their jobs). We were charged with felony criminal mischief and

(Continued to page 15)

Anarchist Black Cross Groups

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Milwaukee ABC
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Mumia Conference Plans March on Wall Street

BY W. SCHWEITZER

Participants at the July 6 conference in Philadelphia to free Mumia will be organizing a march on Wall Street this Dec. 9. The date marks the 15th anniversary of the shooting for which Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed.

One speaker at the conference pointed out that while people have marched on City Hall in Philadelphia, the State House in Harrisburg, and most recently the Justice Department in Washington DC, they have yet to confront the big corporations and financial institutions, which really run all the levels of government. On Dec. 9, people will get that chance.

About 80 people attended the conference. Although no votes were taken, it was clear from the presentations and people's reactions to them that support for the Wall Street march was strong. Also, significantly, not only were people willing to draw links between Mumia's death sentence and the structure of capitalism, but also between Mumia's case and that of other political prisoners, police racism and brutality, and corporate degradation of the environment.

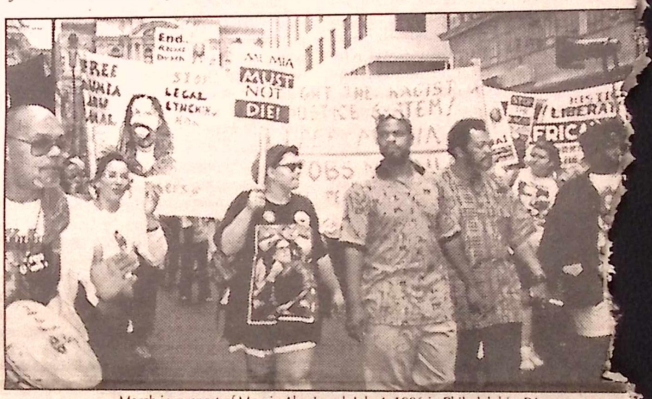
On the last point, Orin Langelle of the Vermont Native Forest Network noted that you "can't have healthy ecosystems without having a healthy society." He went on to state that he could think of no government in the world which cared about the environment. "I've come to the conclusion that all governments are bad," he said.

Two days before, on July 4, 300 people marched loudly through the streets of center city Philadelphia with no permit, blocking major intersections, to demand a new trial and freedom for Mumia. Among the usual good chants like "No Justice! No Peace!" "Free Mumia!" and "[PA Governor] Tom Ridge Must Go!" was one which came up along 13th Street, and to which it was clear that many, many people in the march subscribed. It went:

2,4,6,8,!
Tell the people who we hate!
The pigs!
The Judge!
The whole damn state!

For information on the Dec. 9 March on Wall Street:

Concerned Friends & Family of Mumia
PO Box 19709
Philadelphia, PA 19143
215-476-8812



March in support of Mumia Abu-Jamal, July 4, 1996 in Philadelphia, PA

Incarceration Boom in New Jers
Prison Population Breaks Record

This article is reprinted from the April 20, 1996 edition of New Jersey Abolitionist, *an anti-death penalty and pro-human rights newspaper focusing on New Jersey. Copies are available from New Jersey Speakout, PO Box 1214, Belle Mead, NJ 08502, NJSPEAKOUT@IGC.APC.ORG (908) 874-5891.*

More people are now incarcerated in New Jersey's adult prisons than ever before. There are 87,000 New Jersey residents in prison, in jail or on parole. New Jersey's state prison population has quadrupled since 1980; as of July 1995 New Jersey's adult state prisons were overcrowded by 40%, holding 25,719 people, 1,124 more than the previous year. County jails are operating at 120% of capacity and house an additional 17,000 prisoners. Mandatory sentencing for gun and drug offenses was named as a major contributor to this astronomical growth in prison populations. 54% of prisoners are serving mandatory sentences, up 37% from 1987. They are normally incarcerated for periods twice as long as other prisoners. Also parole is apparently stricter, as the parole rate has dropped to 55% from 65% where it has usually hovered and the parole caseload has increased by 300%.

Due to "record admissions" of newly convicted inmates into state prisons, the overflow of people who would be serving terms in state prisons is contributing to the overcrowding of county jails. As of July 1995 there were 3,960 state prisoners held in county jails. From 1985 to Dec. 1995, the county jail population increased 121%. New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman and the New Jersey legislature voted to allow for the continued furlough of state prisoners into overcrowded county facilities. Meanwhile, federal laws will likely pass making it more difficult for prisoners to sue for redress of cruel and unusual crowding conditions. New J prison boss William Fauver has pub stated that state and county prisons ar 135% of capacity and that even more p ons will be needed once stiff sentenc guidelines are passed.

Since the '80s, four new major state pr ons and two new federal prisons have bee built in New Jersey. Groundbreaking ha occurred on a new $250 million sta prison planned for Bridgeton, NJ. The fi phase, which will house 1,000 prisoners, scheduled for completion in May 1997, an 6 months later, room for another 1,000 scheduled to be ready. The final phase construction is slated to be completed March 1998. Five hundred beds will report edly be set aside for drug abuse treatmen and a 225,000 square foot area will provid services to run the facility.

Other recent prison additions in New Jersey include:

★ The new conversion of Fort Dix army barracks into a prison that is now the largest federal prison.

★ In 1990 the new federal medium security prison, Fairton, opened in Cumberland County.

★ The only state facility for women, the Edna Mahan Correctional Facility in Clinton, is getting a $9 million 200-bed addition.

★ In 1983, the Southern State Correctional Facility in Delmont opened.

★ Riverfront State Prison in Camden, 1985.

★ Northern State Prison in Newark, 1987.

★ Other older facilities which have had recent major expansions include: East Jersey State Prison in Woodbridge, Bayside State Prison in Leesburg, the maximum security New Jersey State Prison in Trenton, facilities in Yardville and Bordentown for young adults, and a sex offender facility in Avenel.

With all the facilities mentioned, New Jersey state prisons are reportedly currently operating at 138.6% capacity.★

ARA Everywhere

Anti-Racist ACTION Reports

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Nazi activity has flared up again recently in Atlanta where some boys up from Florida claiming the Confederate Hammer Skins tag have been busy hassling antiracists, firing shots on more than one occasion. Gary Lindsey fucking hates racism enough to set up at all kinds of shows and gather names to add to the ARA network list. If you are interested in helping Gary set up an ARA chapter call him at work: 404-577-3188.

COLUMBUS, OHIO

Columbus ARA continues to do outreach and act as a clearinghouse for the fast-growing ARA network. The network now boasts chapters in 20 cities! From their contacts compiled at ska, reggae and other shows and events, Columbus ARAers have recently been able to connect people with like-minded folks in their own cities and rural areas all over the US. They circulated 8,500 copies of the last edition of their newsletter, *ARA News*.

On a local level they have been active lately in countering outbreaks of white supremacist harassment and terror at three suburban high schools where they plan to get out leaflets in the fall. Columbus ARA is planning a picnic at the house of a local man who has been threatened by racist skinheads.

The upcoming ARA network conference will be held in Columbus October 18-20 and planning is in the works. A second meeting of the planning committee is slated for August 10.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Four of Detroit ARA activists travelled to Toronto's Youth Against Hate conference at the end of June, while a few attended the anti-Klan demonstration that same weekend in Ann Arbor. Some members of the group also demonstrated at the Saginaw, MI anti-Klan rally the following weekend. [See reports in this issue.]

In the first action of what they hope to develop into a wide-reaching campaign, fifteen members of Detroit ARA leafletted at a Tigers baseball game in June to protest the cutting of the city's summer youth jobs program. Tigers stadium is marked for demolition and ground has been broken at the site of a new home for the Tigers in downtown Detroit. The new stadium is part of a planned mulitmillion dollar redevelopment of the downtown corridor. Mike Illitch, owner of the Tigers, the Red Wings hockey team and Little Caeser's restaurant chain, is a major player in development plans. At the ball game Detroit ARA raised the anti-racist demand that inner metro-area youth get their fair share of jobs in any new building project. To develop the campaign, Detroit ARA is looking to hook up with other youth jobs programs and build ties with local unions.

In early July, Detroit ARA also hosted the first planning committee meeting for the upcoming ARA Network-wide conference to be held in Columbus, Ohio in October.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

Minneapolis ARA has been continuing its work fighting racism in the Twin Cities despite losing several core members. We hope they continue their great work in their new cities. Current projects include: mobilizing with Milwaukee-area activists for the Milwaukee Metalmania concert where Resistance Records had a strong presence last year and against the upcoming Klan/W.A.R./Church of the Creator events in Racine. We have begun a campaign in downtown Minneapolis and St. Paul with posters that call for a Nazi-Free Zone, and for people to call us with information on the whereabouts and activities of local racists. We have submitted a grant proposal for Copwatch funding, and are beginning political discussions on fighting Operation Safe Streets (a police program targeted in neighborhoods of people of color) or the curfew laws. Copwatch, an ongoing project of Minneapolis ARA, has recently sustained two arrests for trespassing and obstructing legal process. One activist pled guilty to the latter charge and was fined $50. The other entered a not guilty plea on both counts and will go to trial in August.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

St. Louis ARA continues the strong local antiracist tradition. With the help of a local band, the Volatiles, former members of a defunct anarchist youth organization, ARA is reaching out to St. Louis youth. They have a couple of educational forums coming up. They are also working on countering a nazi organization operating out of Decatur, IL, home of the Staley strike.

TULSA, OKLAHOMA

Tulsa ARA was started in May by some folks who picked up info on the ARA network at a Klan rally there. The group had a presence at a couple of Gay Pride Day events and are planning to put out a newsletter. They are still strategizing but plan to focus somewhat on the rampant gay bashing in the streets of Tulsa. ★

Racist Killer is no Martyr Say No! to "Hammer" Joe

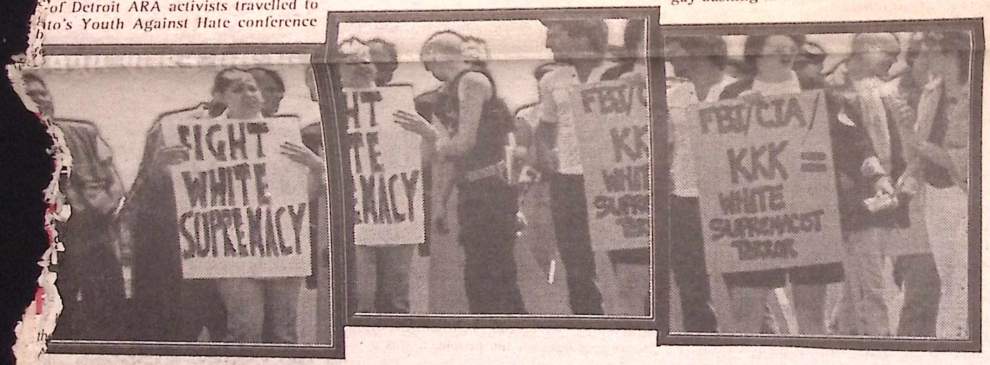
Wisconsin White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.), Michigan Knights of the KKK, and the Milwaukee branch of Church of the Creator are sponsoring a memorial demonstration, informational forum, and concert for "Aryan Martyr" Joe Rowan, a.k.a. "Hammer" Joe. Money raised will also benefit the Montana Freemen. The events are being planned for Oct. 1, 1996 in Racine, Wisconsin, at currently undisclosed locations.

In April 1995, Rowan, allegedly a member of W.A.R., attended a weekend nazi concert in the outskirts of Racine. Rowan and a few nazi skinheads were at a gas station and began hassling a group of African-American men. One of those men shot and killed Rowan at point blank range. W.A.R. has pledged to avenge his death, and this is the first gathering in his "honor" to bring together racists from around the Midwest. Knights of the KKK expect at least 200 supporters to show up.

Anti-Racist Action doesn't want a crew of angry white fascists to terrorize the diverse community of Racine. We call upon any persons who oppose white supremacy to join us in counter-demonstrations at all of the events in Racine this fall. For more information, contact Minneapolis ARA.★

Saginaw Hates the Klan

A diverse crowd of 400 protested a Klan rally in the integrated, working-class city of Saginaw, Michigan, July 6. A dozen racists from Tom Robb's Arkansas-based faction of the Klan spoke inaudibly from the balcony of city hall where they were generously escorted and protected by local police with the aid of a chain-link fence. In a show of labor solidarity in this union town, the ad hoc coalition against the KKK put out a flyer calling on people not to speak to scab reporters of the struck Detroit Free Press or Detroit News (the one year anniversary of the strike is July 13). Perhaps out of embarrassment over the violent police frenzy the previous week in Ann Arbor, police cracked no heads and made no arrests.★



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Tulsa, OK 74101

Get in touch...
Get involved!

EDMONTON GROUP CHANGES NAME TO ANTI-RACIST ACTION!

After some deliberation, the Edmonton Anti-Fascist League has decided to rename itself Edmonton Anti-Racist Action.

The final straw occured just after the 1996 Jean-Baptiste Day riots in Quebec, when the World Anti-Fascist League (LAM), a group unaffiliated with the Edmonton AFL, chose to rat out members of the progressive/radical left to the police and national media, despite a lack of evidence of any real wrongdoing.

The members of the Edmonton AFL wish to stress that it has never been affiliated with LAM (the French acronym) nor has it had any contact with them throughout our 6-year history.

The name-change to Anti-Racist Action is not just a knee-jerk reaction or an attempt to distance ourselves from jerks with a similar name. We also chose to do so to reflect our working relationship with ARA chapters across North America, our similarities in tactics and strategies, and to make it clear that our group tackles all forms of racism, not just fascism. Also, ARA has cooler t-shirts than we did and we want to co-opt their graphics!★

Black Community Fights Police Brutality in NYC

By Jessica

On Friday, June 14 about 60 people protested in downtown Brooklyn against police brutality in black communities. The action was organized by the December 12 Movement. Foremost in everyone's minds was the murder the day before of a 23 year-old black man named Aswan Watson by three plain-clothes cops in an unmarked car.

Aswan Watson had just left a local barbershop and gotten into his car when the three cops rammed into the back of his vehicle and demanded over a loudspeaker that he get out with his hands up. They approached him, one of the cops put a gun to his head and said, "You're a dead nigger." The cops then shot him eighteen times. Watson was murdered at four o'clock in the afternoon on the corner of 35th Street and Church Avenue, a busy commercial area in East Flatbush, Brooklyn.

The demonstration was organized military-style, with a tight chain of command and information given out on a need-to-know basis. The demonstrators marched in formation through the Fulton Mall, a predominantly black outdoor shopping district, chanting "Join the Line, Join the Line, Join the Line—Black Power!" and "The Cops are Killing Us! What You Gonna Do?" A few people did the join the line, but most just cheered the demonstrators on and eagerly took fliers.

The demonstrators were then led onto city buses at Flatbush Avenue, paying with tokens they had been told to have ready beforehand. The cops, who had been following the march, were obviously unprepared for this move. It was quite amusing to watch cops get on the buses, then off the buses, then on the buses again, as their chain of command tried to figure out what was going on. The demonstrators rode the buses to Church Avenue, where they marched to the scene of the murder.

The process of getting on the buses showed the virtues of a tightly-organized demonstration. It would have been impossible to get an entire demonstration onto a city bus, without being stopped by the cops, unless some sort of centralized organization was in place. There were serious drawbacks, however. When an older gentleman who had come from Manhattan understandably showed some reluctance about getting onto a bus to an unknown destination in Brooklyn, he was sharply reprimanded for "breaking ranks."

Along Church Avenue, the demonstration picked up so many people that it more than doubled in size. Along the route were signs put up by residents with messages like, "Question: Why my black brothers must be shot down like birds by white cops month after month? I need an answer."

People blocked off the street where a shrine had been erected to mark the spot of Aswan Watson's execution. While cops observed from the nearby rooftops, people made speeches telling and retelling the story of Aswan Watson's murder and of the murders of many other black and Latino men by the New York City cops.

One speaker recounted "dreams" that he had about cops' bullets that had killed black men being turned against the cops themselves. He spoke eloquently of imagining "streams of blood running down murderous pigs' faces." Another speaker invoked the memory of Larry Davis, who killed nine cops and is considered a hero in many New York City neighborhoods.

Community education on Church Ave. in Flatbush, Brooklyn

The only negative moment in the speech-making was when one speaker claimed that in the midst of firing at Aswan Watson, one of the cops dropped his bullets on the ground, and the owner of the Chinese food restaurant across the street came out of his store to pick up the bullets and hand them back to the cop. This preposterous story seems to be the unfortunate result of prejudices against Asians—prejudices that ultimately serve to divert energy from fighting the cops who brutalize both black and Asian communities.

Aswan Watson is only one of an increasing number of human beings who have fallen at the hands of racist, murdering New York cops. Even Amnesty International has turned its attention to the NYPD, reporting that "the number of people bringing claims for police misconduct against the City of New York has increased substantially in recent years, from 977 in 1987 to more than 2,000 in 1994." The report also stated, not surprisingly, that the vast majority of abuses were reported in black, Latino and Asian communities. The United Nations Human Rights Commission is also planning to start an inquiry of its own into the NYPD. In the meantime, and probably long after those reports are issued, people will continue to rise up, speak out and fight back against racist, killer cops.★

Toronto ARA hosts successful 'Youth Against Hate' conference

By Toronto Anti-Racist Action

Our conference was a big success and our work is cut out for us! The *main goal of the conference was to network and share skills, and to inspire people to get active in their own communities. We connected with tons of people outside Toronto, and lots of new people* are getting involved locally.

Cross-country connections were firmed up; developing an information-sharing network about the white supremacist organizing is an ongoing priority. Workshops about monitoring and tracking the fascists were much appreciated. Some other hands-on workshops were less well developed, particularly the all-important ones on "starting a youth-based anti-racist/anti-fascist group." We've concluded that we need to prepare better for passing on the knowledge we've gained.

On a more "political" tip, we had planned the conference to claim a place for militant anti-fascism in the broader political spectrum. We believe we succeeded.

While the workshops were geared toward developing activist tools, we also planned two panel discussion and invited representatives of the mainstream anti-racism organizations, including the League for Human Rights of B'Nai Brith and the Simon Weisenthal Centre *(Canada) to participate. We wanted to debate anti-fascist strategies in a context where these institutionally-oriented people would have to be accountable to people organizing on the ground.*

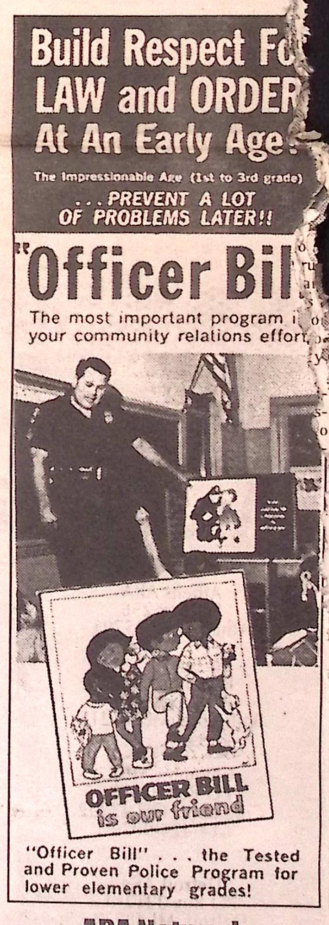
The discussion itself was somewhat productive, but that it happened at all, in an environment created by grassroots activists, was unprecedented. Usually it is groups like our who are invited to represent the "militant" perspective or the "youth" perspective at their conferences, where we are easily isolated and marginalized.

An unexpected twist emerged because we couldn't raise enough money for the conference ourselves and applied for grants from a private foundation and also from Metropolitan Toronto, which funds "anti-hate" initiatives. The Metro grant application generated a storm of controversy, completely manufactured by the Heritage Front and people associated with Paul Fromm (Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform and the Canadian Association for Free Expression). Their lobbying against "public" recognition of our work was amplified by columnists at the right-wing rag, the *Toronto Sun*.

These attacks brought out support from unexpected places, from folks who wouldn't let the nazis win. Our co-sponsor, the Canadian Anti-Racism Education and Research Society, was strongly supportive as were other key organizations in the mainstream anti-racist movement here. During the six hour debate in Metro Council, one councilor stated forcefully that "my family died in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and I'll be fighting fascism for the rest of my life!" The process gave wide exposure to our political perspective, highlighted growing unity in our movement, and ultimately resulted in grudging approval of our grant application.

The far right is furious—demonstrating that we are effective. And in the context of right-wing attacks on the people, it was a sweet victory.

The work goes on! We are especially excited to hear of groups getting formed and revitalized in Guelph (Ontario) and Halifax (Nova Scotia). We hope that new allies were added to the growing ARA family in North America from our end. We'll all be staying in touch! ★


Build Respect Fo
LAW and ORDER
At An Early Age!
The Impressionable Age (1st to 3rd grade)
. . . PREVENT A LOT
OF PROBLEMS LATER!!
"Officer Bil
The most important program i
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ANTI-RACIST ACTION NETWORK

THIRD ANNUAL

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★Workshops ★Music
★Organizational Meetings
★Parties

October 18-20
Columbus, Ohio

★Solidify the Network ★Strategize for the coming year ★Meet ARA folks from all over North America
★Planning meetings are happening now

For more information including registration and lodging contact Columbus ARA

ARA Network

(Continued from page 3)

and the Klan in the Midwest and Canada and we've got to figure out how to organize against racism and build ARAs in the South and Northwest. If there was an Anti-Racist Action group in every community that a Black Church was burned in I can't say it wouldn't have happened but having a group of people willing to do what it takes to stop racist actions couldn't hurt.★

The Revolutio
Anarchist Tr

By Christopher Day

For most of this century the revolutionary struggle for human liberation has stood in the shadow of the Bolshevik victory in the Russian Revolution. The collapse of the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe, repression of the Chinese democracy movement, and the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas revealed the decay within Marxism as a supposed ideology of human freedom. The ensuing collapse of much of what remained of the Marxist left created an opening for a renewal of the revolutionary project.

Revolutionary anarchism speaks to the fundamental failure of Marxism's authoritarian reliance on the state as an instrument for revolutionizing society. But just as Marxism has been tested by history and found wanting, so too has anarchism failed

This article is an attempt to trace the course of that current through one crucial chapter of anarchist history: the period from the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917 to the defeat of the Spanish Revolution in 1937. It will treat only a handful of individuals and organizations. This treatment is neccesarily superficial, but it has provided me with some guidance through the historical predecessors of contemporary revolutionary anarchism.

MALATESTA

Errico Malatesta participated in a variety of groups and struggles but his main significance was as an agitator and propagandist. Malatesta didn't so much break with prevailing anarchist thinking as push it as far as it could go without a thorough critical re-examination. For this reason his writ-

The failure of the Spanish anarchists to learn the lessons of the Russian and Ukranian experiences before it was too late is perhaps the single greatest tragedy in the history of the anarchist movement.

deliver real human liberation. Therefore, believe we must be attentive to the dist current of revolutionary anarchist ctice that has sought to confront these ric failures of anarchism.

seems to me that Love and Rage has often been defined by our disregard anarchist orthodoxies. This is a good g. *If anarchism is to become a serious olutionary movement it must develop a body of theory and analysis, and that require discarding various cherished* rchist prejudices. The revolutionary narchism of the future should be a living ynthesis of all the useful thinking and reat ideas found in the course of the strug- for human freedom.

e are not the first group of anarchists frustrated by the deep structural probs of anarchism. In this sense we are part hat can be called a revolutionary anarst tradition—a small but vital current in anarchism that has sought to learn sons from our defeats, struggled to raise archist polities above the level of naive oralism, confronted head on the contraictions within anarchist thinking, fought r tighter forms of organization, and ught to develop a coherent strategy for ctually making anarchist revolution.

Errico Malatesta in London, 1912

A Century composed of peasants from Calanda (Teruel) of the Durruti Column, Sp

PAGE 8 • LOVE AND RAGE • AUGUST / SEPTEMBER 1996

ings are a useful indication of how far it is possible to go with classical anarchist thinking and where it is necessary to break new ground.

Malatesta was unabashedly pro-organization and divided the discussion of organization into three parts:

> organization in general as a principle of and condition of social life today and in a future society; the organization of the anarchist movement; and the organization of the popular forces and especially of the working masses for resistance to government and capitalism. . .
>
> Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*
> p. 84 (Freedom Press, 1984, London)

Malatesta is fundamentally concerned with offering anarchist answers to the concrete problems of the day. His writings do not investigate those problems empirically, but explicate the application of anarchist principles under various circumstances.

The basic weakness of Malatesta's thinking is its lack of dialectical method. His conclusions are not based on investigation of the actual conditions within society (or within the anarchist movement) and they are not tested against the results of their application. Rather they flow from a set of abstract principles and if they don't coincide with current reality, we are patiently assured, reality will eventually catch up. The revolutionary upsurges in the wake of World War I exposed in practice the limitations of this method. Anarchists participated in many of these upsurges, but the most significant anarchist achievements were in Ukraine.

THE MAKHNOVCHINA

The Ukrainian Revolution is a seriously underappreciated event in anarchist history. Unlike Spain where over 60 years of anarchist educational work had shaped the thinking of much of the Spanish peasantry and proletariat, Ukraine did not have a strong, well-organized anarchist movement when the February 1917 revolution toppled the Russian Czar and opened up the whole Russian Empire, including Ukraine, to the pent-up revolutionary forces of peasant and worker discontent.

After seizing power in 1917, the Bolsheviks obtained peace with the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires through the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which handed over Ukraine to the imperialists. The relatively small Ukrainian anarchist movement seized the moment and built a revolutionary anarchist army around a nucleus of guerrilla partisans commanded by Nestor Makhno. The peasantry was already seizing the land largely without the help of the anarchists. Makhno's army defended their gains and argued for the voluntary collectivization of the land while they fought a guerilla war against the white (counter-revolutionary) army and the armies of Austrian and German imperialism. Only after the Makhnovchina had defeated most of these forces did the Bolshevik Red army join them in a final offensive. After the counter-revolutionaries' final defeat the Bolsheviks turned around and crushed Mahkno's army, retaking the Ukrainian lands they had given away in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Makhno didn't let the Bolsheviks off the hook for their crimes but he also correctly identified a number of the anarchist movement's weaknesses which made the Bolshevik victory possible. He describes the original military organization of the anarchists in Ukraine, the "free battalions":

> It quickly transpired that that organization was powerless to survive internal provocations of every sort, given that, without adequate vetting, political or social, it took in all volunteers provided only that they wanted to take up weapons and fight. This was why the armed units established by that organization were treacherously delivered to the enemy, a fact that prevented it from seeing through its historical mission in the fight against the foreign counter-revolution. . . Elsewhere the practical requirements of the struggle induced our movement to establish an operational and organizational Staff to share the oversight of all the fighting units. It is because of this practice that I find myself unable to subscribe to the view that revolutionary anarchists reject the need for such a Staff to oversee the armed revolutionary struggle strategically. I am convinced that any revolutionary anarchist finding himself in the same circumstances as those I encountered in the civil war in the Ukraine will, of necessity, be impelled to do as we did. If in the course of the coming authentic social revolution, there are anarchists who rebut these organizational principles, then in our movement we will have only empty chatterers or dead-weight, harmful elements who will be rejected in short order.
>
> "On Defense of the Revolution"
> from *The Struggle Against the State and Other Essays* by Nestor Mahkno
> (AK Press, 1996, San Francisco)

Mahkno understood that revolutionary anarchists had to operate in the real world of imperfect circumstances. If anarchist ideas were to mean anything they had to be applied in the struggles of the day. And if they were inadequate to the tasks of the struggle then they needed to be modified.

THE PLATFORMISTS

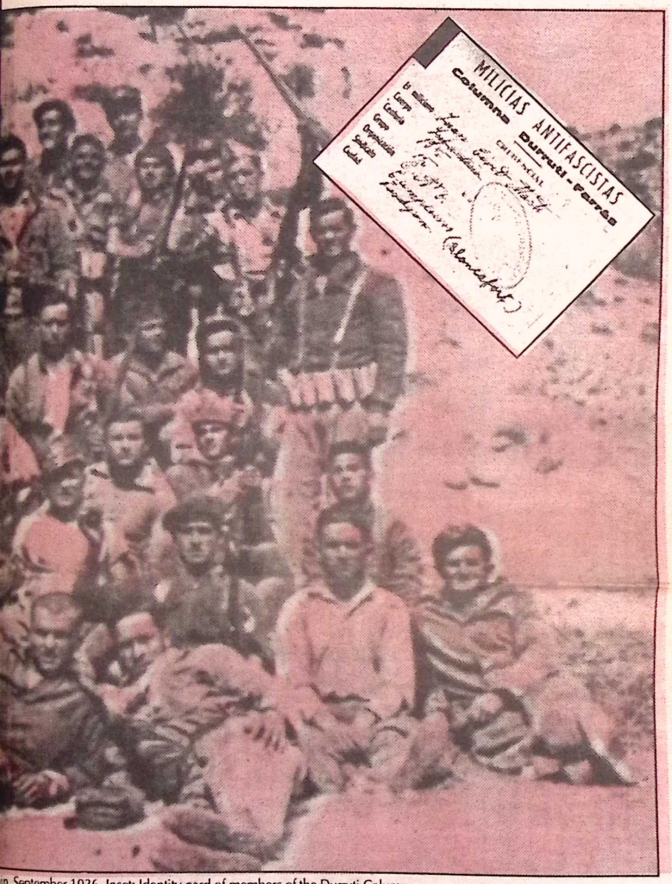
Bolshevik victory in Russia gave their authoritarian politics enormous prestige amongst revolutionary-minded people all around the world. Huge sections of the anarchist movement went over to Bolshevism. And it wasn't necessarily the worst elements that left either. In many cases the anarchists who remained true to their principles were the most unconcerned with making anarchism relevant to the majority of humanity. Outside of Spain and Latin America, where the mass character of the anarchist movement delayed this development, anarchism was rapidly replaced by Bolshevism. In the face of Bolshevik hegemony the anarchist movement became increasingly sectarian and oddly resistant of challenges to theoretical orthodoxy.

After defeat at the hands of the Red Army, Makhno and many of his Russian and Ukrainian comrades were forced into exile in Western Europe. There they found

onary adition

the same dogmatism and disorganization that had doomed the anarchists in the Russian Revolution.

Mahkno and his comrades in exile sought to apply the political lessons they had drawn from their experience and to create a new kind of revolutionary anarchist organization—one capable of the profound organizational tasks involved in carrying a revolution through to victory. Their interpretation of the principle of individuality in anarchism; this theory being too often confused with the absence of all responsibility. The lovers of assertion of "self," solely with a view to personal pleasure, obstinately cling to the chaotic state of the anarchist movement, and refer in its defence to the innumerable principles of anarchism and its teachers.



m, September 1936. Inset: Identity card of members of the Durruti Column.

call for the formation of such an organization was a pamphlet entitled "The Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists." Published in 1926, it quickly became an object of controversy within the anarchist movement. Reading its opening paragraphs it is not hard to see why:

> It is very significant that, in spite of the strength and incontestably positive character of libertarian ideas, and in spite of the forthrightness and integrity of anarchist positions in facing up to the social revolution, and finally the heroism and innumerable sacrifices borne by the anarchists in the struggle for libertarian communism, the anarchist movement remains weak despite everything, and has appeared, very often, in the history of working class struggles as a small event, an episode, and not an important factor.
>
> This contradiction between the positive and incontestable substance of libertarian ideas, and the miserable state in which the anarchist movement vegetates, has its explanation in a number of causes, of which the most important, the principal, is the absence of organizational principles and practices in the anarchist movement."

The introduction goes on to say that:

> (I)t is nevertheless beyond doubt that this disorganization derives from some defects of theory: notably the false

If the Platform's words ring true today it is only because they were not heeded when they first appeared in print.

The Platform had three sections. The first or "General" section was a basic exposition of revolutionary anarchist thinking concerning the process of revolution. The second "Constructive" section elaborated an anarchist program for the reorganization of industry, agriculture, and consumption. This section also addressed the question of how the gains of the revolution would be defended by a revolutionary army. The final "Organizational" section called for the creation of a "General Union of Anarchists" on the basis of four organizational principles:

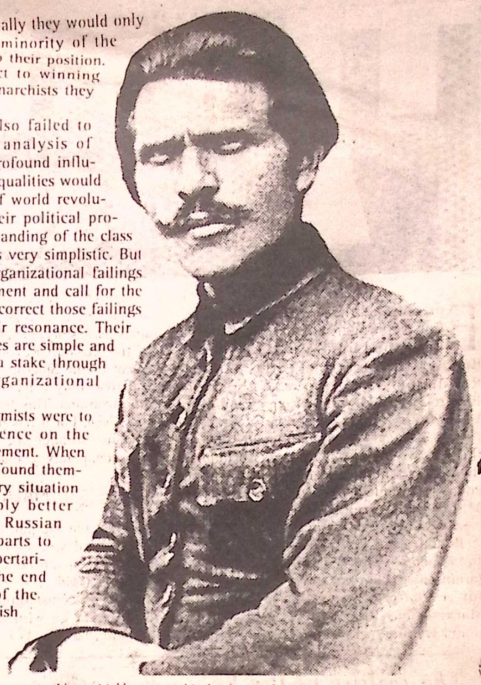
1. Theoretical Unity
2. Tactical Unity or the Collective Method of Action
3. Collective Responsibility
4. Federalism

The Platform was widely attacked within the anarchist movement in terms that would be familar to those who have followed the controversies around Love and Rage. The Platformists were accused of being crypto-Leninists and of attempting to dominate the whole anarchist movement in their effort to build an effective organization. The Platformists were pushed to the margins of the anarchist movement and their efforts to build an organization failed.

The Platformists obviously overestimated the potential for winning over a majority of anarchists to their position. Given the depth of their criticisms they should have understood that at least initially they would only be able to attract a minority of the anarchist movement to their position. By tying their project to winning over the majority of anarchists they doomed it.

The Platformists also failed to develop a coherent analysis of imperialism and the profound influence that its global inequalities would have on the process of world revolution. Consequently their political program and their understanding of the class struggle reads today as very simplistic. But their critique of the organizational failings of the anarchist movement and call for the measures neccesary to correct those failings have lost none of their resonance. Their organizational principles are simple and sensible. But they are a stake through the heart of anti-organizational thinking in anarchism.

Tragically the Platformists were to have almost no influence on the Spanish anarchist movement. When the Spanish anarchists found themselves in a revolutionary situation they were considerably better positioned than their Russian and Ukraininan conterparts to give the revolution a libertarian character. But in the end they failed for many of the same reasons. The Spanish Revolution offered the best opportunity for anarchists. The failure of the Spanish anarchists to learn the lessons of the Russian and Ukrainian experiences before it was too late is perhaps the single greatest tragedy in the history of the anarchist movement.



Nestor Makhno, anarchist leader in Ukraine, around 1920

THE FAI

The Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) was founded in 1927. It arose in response to the burgeoning revolutionary potential of Spain and some of the contradictions within the Spanish anarchist movement. Up until the formation of the FAI the main organizational form of the Spanish anarchist movement was the National Confederation of Labor (CNT). The dictatorship of General Prime de Rivera had broken up the CNT. Under these conditions of repression, powerful tendencies towards reformism asserted themselves within the scattered anarchist movement. The FAI brought together the most militant and determined revolutionaries in Spain. The FAI was composed of small affinity groups federated locally, regionally, and nationally (including also Portuguese groups and exile groups in France). When the CNT was reorganized in 1928 the FAI came to exert a dominating influence on its orientation.

While the FAI constituted the most revolutionary forces within the anarchist movement, they were not united around any sort of coherent program. Rather they were united in their opposition to any sort of collaboration with the reformist forces.

The organizational principles of the FAI stand in stark contrast to those proposed by the Platformists. There was very little collective responsibility, with the result that the actions of the most irresponsible members set the tone for the whole organization. The FAI was involved in a series of heroic but doomed insurrections. This was in part the consequence of the absence of any mechanism of accountability within the FAI. Any local group with sufficient fervor could take action and drag the whole movement behind it regardless of the outcome. This was evident in the period of 1932-34, which saw a series of insurrections that filled graveyards and prisons with anarchists. The eventual exhaustion of the insurrectionary impulse in the face of overwhelming repression laid the foundations for the widespread anarchist participation in the February 1936 elections in the hope that the Popular Front would free all the anarchists imprisoned during this period. Here we see how unaccountable ultra-militancy can prepare the ground for reformism.

In opposition to Malatesta, who argued that the unions should be ideologically non-sectarian in order to attract the broadest participation of the working class, the FAI declared itself in favor of explicitly anarchist unions because "working-class unity is not possible." The existence of widespread sympathy for anarchism among the Spanish proletariat and peasantry made it possible to build an explicitly anarchist mass union like the CNT, but the very existence of the FAI pointed to the contradictions involved in such a union.

Malatesta argued that the need to meet the daily needs of the members under the existing system has a conservatizing influence on unions regardless of their origins or assertions of radical aims. The experience of the CNT prior to the founding of the FAI confirmed this position. In effect the FAI constituted itself as an organization of the most advanced elements that fought for (and won) revolutionary politics within the CNT.

Opponents of the FAI's revolutionary orientation attacked the FAI for dominating the union. The FAI resisted this characterization of their role within the CNT and certainly non-FAI members were often influential, but an honest assessment of the FAI must acknowledge its leadership function within the Spanish anarchist movement.

While the FAI was undeniably composed of many of the most committed revolutionary anarchist fighters in Spain, they failed to cohere themselves around a program or strategy until it was too late. The conferences and plenums of the FAI were dominated by discussions of the most elementary organizational matters. The political resolutions are agonizingly vague and subject to the broadest possible range of interpretations. When a revolutionary situation fell into their hands they were utterly unprepared for the difficult choices involved.

On July 19, 1936 the CNT carried out a revolutionary general strike in response to a fascist military coup. They were joined to varying degrees by the socialist union (the UGT) and the political parties of the left.

In Catalonia the revolutionary upheaval was so complete and the anarchist predominance within it so beyond dispute that on July 20, Luis Companys, the president of the semi-autonomous government of Catalonia summoned the leaders of the CNT and the FAI and offered to resign. The leaders of the CNT and FAI declined, claiming that they did not want to establish an "anarchist and Confederal dictatorship."

In this single moment we find distilled the historical anarchist abdication of political responsibility. The anarchist movement has no reason to expect to be presented with a better opportunity to reorganize society on libertarian lines than existed on July 20, 1936. While support for the CNT was not universal, they clearly had the allegiance of the majority of the oppressed classes in Catalonia. They had created a situation of dual power with the capitalist state. But dual power is not an end in itself, it is a condition under which an opportunity exists to smash the old power and replace it with a new organization of society. Situations of dual power are inherently unstable. Sooner or later the old power or the new power will smash the other one. The consequence of the CNT and FAI's fear of being party to an "anarchist dictatorship" was that they soon found themselves under a dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie and the Communist Party and then under Franco.

It was only after the revolutionary moment had passed and the Spanish state was reorganized with the generous assis-

(Continued to page 14)

Mexican Workers Struggle

Interview with SUTAUR-100

By Dave Vance

The following interview with Jorge Cuellar Valdez was conducted on June 5, 1996 in Chicago, where Cuellar attended a demonstration at the Mexican consulate for the release of accused Zapatista political prisoners. Jorge Cuellar Valdez has been extremely important as an international spokesman for the SUTAUR-100. He has made nine trips to various cities in the US, and in May was in Europe speaking almost every day for three weeks. International solidarity has in fact put pressure on the Zedillo regime and his anti-labor bureaucrats. Hundreds of letters and faxes have been sent to the mayor of Mexico City. The world is watching.

This important struggle began April 8, 1995 in the darkness of early morning. Riot police closed down the 27 terminals of Route 100 and the government confiscated $25 million from the union bank account. This attack has shown everyone the brutality and true nature of the government. Privatization is a direct capitalist attack on the union and will reduce the bus service and raise the price of getting on the bus. Hundreds of thousands in fact rallied in support of the SUTAUR during May Day 1995 and 1996, but it wasn't enough to make the government back down.

In March 1996, a very successful International Conference Against Privatization was held in Mexico City sponsored by the SUTAUR and the International Liaison Committee. The ILC almost of the support work internationally as 44 representatives came from countries. A large rally of 30,000 people was held in the the Zocalo (Main Plaza) of Mexico City.

But the strength of the SUTAUR was unraveling from within. By March, 3,000 of its members had decided to accept severance pay. On April 26, the union and city government officials reached a tentative agreement. Privatization will happen and Route 100 will be divided into ten private companies.

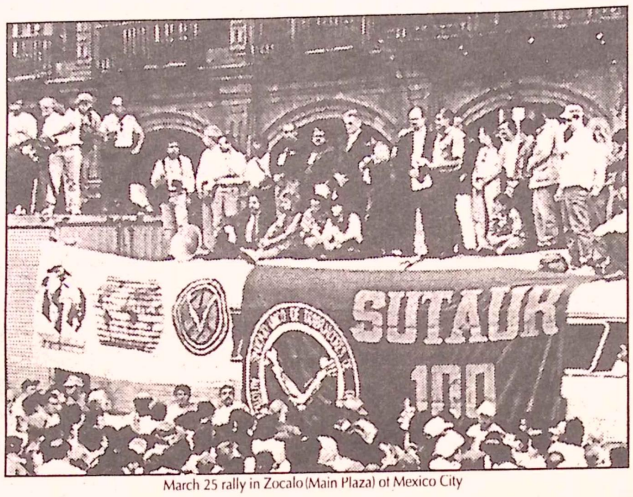
This means in large part the defeat of the SUTAUR, but the struggle is not over. They continue to demand that the government live up to its part of the agreement made in April: two bus routes run by a cooperative of the SUTAUR, return of pension money, 1,000 taxi permits and retraining funds. These issues were complicated by the continued imprisonment of the 12 union leaders.

Though much work still needs to be done, a breakthrough victory has recently occurred. The jailed leaders of the SUTAUR were released from prison on July 10 and 12.

In this interview Jorge answers many important questions about the growing working class consciousness in Mexico. Hundreds of political, social, and student groups have marched together in recent years. Many peasant groups have fraternal alliances with the urban groups. During the past 15 months, in the struggle for their jobs, the SUTAUR has been the most visible and vocal opposition to the PRI regime. Their struggle has united many independent working class groups into the MPI, the Independent Proletarian Movement. The SUTAUR is the largest group in the MPI, which has brought tens of thousands of exploited and unemployed workers together.

This political activity shows a rising militancy in the working class. Many groups speak openly about the capitalist exploitation by the 27 families that own nearly all the wealth of Mexico. Yet still, a big gap remains in how to achieve liberation.

Revolutionary consciousness can only be built when workers are willing to fight against their own exploitation. And international solidarity is not just a nice phrase but a real necessity. There is much we can learn from their defeat and their struggle as it continues. Thanks to Jorge we have his thinking and views for the readers of Love and Rage.★



March 25 rally in Zocalo (Main Plaza) of Mexico City

L&R: *What were the demands of today's demonstration at the Mexican Consulate?*

Jorge: Today we went to request the freedom of Javier Elorriaga Verdeguez, Sebastian Atzin and Garcia Santiago. They were taken by the government and jailed as terrorists because they have relations with the EZLN. In the demonstration today we also requested that the army leave the State of Chiapas. The Mexican army is continuing to squeeze the Zapatista army on the one side and on the other side of Guatemala it has been militarized to oppress its people there. We also requested the liberation of SUTAUR 100's political prisoners (See good news above.) Recently the Mexican government signed an agreement with us and they are not following it. The government has not returned the union's bank account of $25 million dollars. Neither has it given the concessions promised to the union. Several days ago the government sent us documents about giving us routes 10 and 13, but these were the worst. They want to give us garbage. The union members will not accept this and if necessary we will begin demonstrating again.

L&R: *Yesterday we went to a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor and they rejected your request to speak. What do you think?*

JC: In fact we are not surprised by this kind of attitude from the "workers representatives." Already we have seen this kind of treatment from bureaucrats who do not represent the interests of workers. They do not serve the cause of the workers but only control the workers; they are under the control of others.

L&R: *The literature we passed out included a letter by Ron Carey, president of the Teamsters, and a photo of you with AFL-CIO leaders. The Chicago Federation of Labor president, Don Turner, wasn't interested. The AFL-CIO leadership supported you in October and now what?*

JC: We consider that in spite of everything, we greatly appreciate the help and support of the organizations in the AFL-CIO and the leadership of John Sweeney, Linda Chavez Thompson, Richard Trumca. We spoke personally with them. We got no help from our country's CTM which is corrupt and does everything the government wants. The guys that run the CFL are of no importance.

L&R: *What are the reasons for the government's attitude of repression against the SUTAUR-100?*

JC: The reasons are obvious. Since the first blows fell on the workers of the Route 100, the government's plan has been extermination of our independent union. And on the other hand, the attack on us is political. They want to eliminate the source of political opposition from the workers. Our voice would do damage to the CTM's control. And the government has an economic reason for privatization of public transportation. They are involving bureaucrats of the government who want to take advantage of the situation and make big profits from the largest city in the world.

> *"Today the government has armed itself to the teeth because they see the people rising up."*

L&R: *Today we heard the news from Mexico about the teachers strike. They are asking for a raise in their salary. We saw the police repression against their demonstration. Will you support the teachers and march shoulder to shoulder with them?*

JC: We may have to join our struggle with the teachers just as we did in 1989. Then the teachers struggled for wages and benefits and we fought to recover our source of work. On both occasions we won our struggles. In this struggle now, they are being repressed when they demand the same things. How is it possible for those who provide education and knowledge to the people of Mexico to have to live on a miserable wage? We are not in agreement with that and we will fight with them.

They are being repressed also because they are a democratic union that has broken with the official SENTE which is corrupt. Today the government wants to suffocate them just the same as they have been doing with other social independent organizations. We believe that all independent social organizations have to support their struggle and the SUTAUR is going to be there. We have to show the regime that the teachers are not alone.

L&R: *I have heard that the government is afraid of independent organizations of workers. They are afraid of their own people. It is also afraid of the coalition that makes up the MPI.*

JC: They say the bigger the fear, the bigger the gun! Today the government has armed itself to the teeth because they see the people rising up. The Mexican people do not want to live anymore on their knees. The government is prepared to start a war against the people. The North American government has armed the rulers of Mexico for its defense because they feel weak. That is why they have received 3,200 tanks to repress the struggle in Chiapas. They have sent 26 high pressure water tanks to make repression in Mexico City.

The official justification for this armament is very stupid. They have announced the war against drugs when the whole world knows the truth. Officials in the government run the drugs and the arms are for repression against the working class. The fact is we don't believe what the government says and in spite of the repression we will continue to march.

L&R: *Ricardo Barco, adviser for the SUTAUR-100, along with another 11 of your union brothers and sisters, was taken prisoner by the Mexican government to show the working class its power and method of repression.*

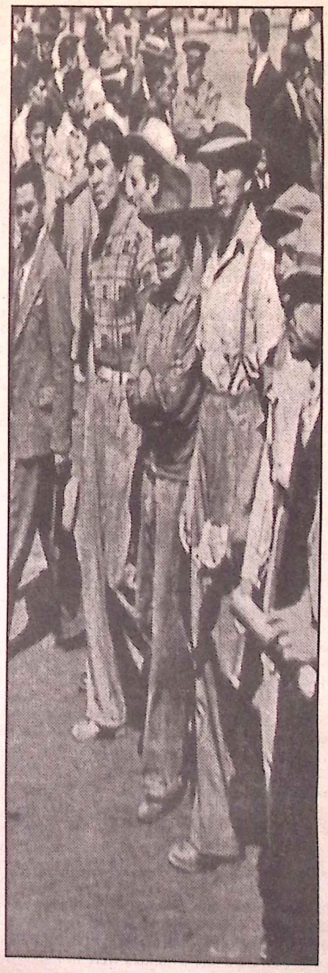
JC: We know there aren't enough jails for the 87 million Mexicans. And you know the saying, "We are all Marcos, We are all Barco." The Mexican government will not be able to stop the movement. To do this it will have to destroy the political consciousness of each individual. At least it will have to destroy 8,360 comrades of the SUTAUR-100. The government cannot stop us now, even if it kills us, our children already have a strong consciousness.

L&R: *During this year of the lockout what were the highs and the lows?*

JC: We consider the worst losses for the union during the conflict to have been the deaths of 70 coworkers. Many died for lack of medical attention, poor nutrition, or just the nervous tension making a bad condition worse. And the government destroyed the transportation system that was a cultural form itself. One of the biggest lows was leaving the capital city without a transportation system. The city needs a cheap public bus system due to the miserable salaries of 3 dollars a day that the workers must live on.

But the strength of the union members was tremendous. Over one year of brutal repression, assassinations and political pressure, the voice of the union was not silenced. The members have shouted, "Not one step back." With this attitude and unity the government took back its miserable offer of 30% severance pay and now has on the table 62%.

We have also exposed the government



so that it must comply and follow through with its signature on the documents. It must hand over the transportation concessions so we can develop a business and continue to live. This is a very important gain. But, inside this agreement the government is obliged to give freedom to our leaders, and this will mean a victory. The really true victory will come when we see our co-workers on the street and we begin our new forms of work.

L&R: *What are the lessons from this struggle?*

JC: The enemy is very well organized. There is the international bourgeoisie that represents the governments. Included also are the bosses of the multinational corporations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that all represent the bourgeoisie. In these the ruling class is organized and has political and economic power over the entire globe.

With this understanding and for our union's defense, the first thing we have learned is that we must look for the unity of the workers on an international level.

And we found out something that makes us very proud, that workers in the First World are worried about what is happening to their brothers in the Third World. These are people we are very proud to know. They are making a struggle for the workers of the world. Only united will we have the possibility of winning.

Someone has to begin to make unity happen and organize on an international level. It is possible that many of us will never be able to see the results of this first effort that we are making because this struggle will be very prolonged. Right now there is nothing that can stop the capitalist advance and its capacity to destroy is great. At this time there is no counterweight to the international bourgeoisie. The left is very divided.

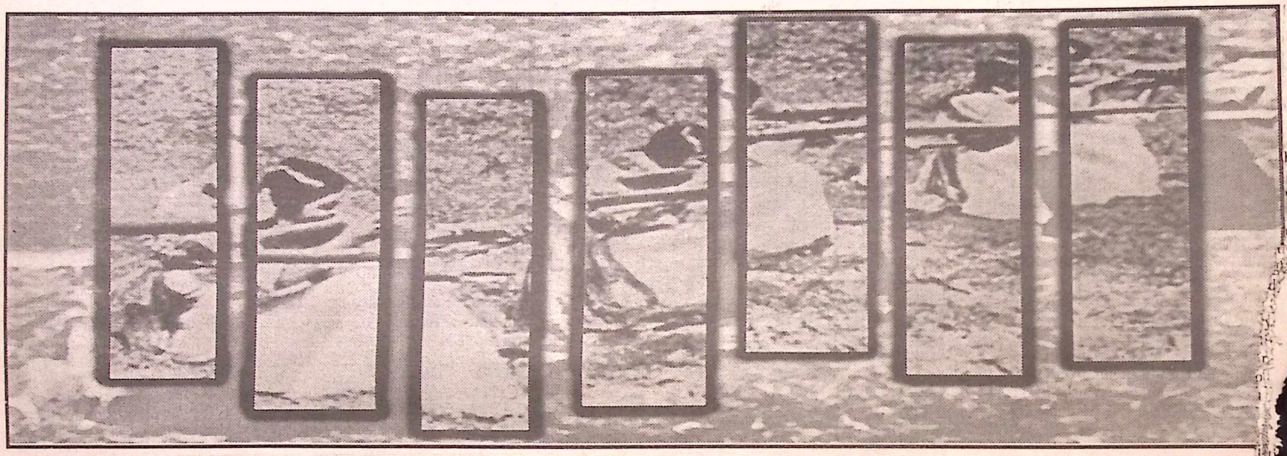
L&R: *You told me that the key to success in the workers' struggle is to unify the working class in Mexico. The May 1st demonstration last year (1995) was very big. The CTM's unions did not show up and did not want to mix itself with the people. I heard that the SUTAUR and organizations demonstrated with force energy. The question is, was it possibl a general strike in Mexico City during time? After the demonstration what pened to the energy?*

JC: The working class of Mexico is hardly able to react because they are under the control that the system has imposed through the CTM. It is the same thing here with the workers in the United States and that's why rebellions suddenly appear. We say, "burn it down" in a demonstration one day. We marched on May 1 but looking back, I think the commitment to struggle was only a one day event. Many felt by marching that day that they had done enough. They were tired and had struggled enough for their life. We need to work on this with the rank and file.

L&R: *How do you see consciousness changing? What kind of struggle can we expect?*

JC: The workers are afraid of the brutal attacks on their social organizations. Because many workers do not have an ideological preparation they cannot face the problem. As individuals many are afraid and they prefer not to hear and not to see. Some others think that after a strong repression there will be a reaction from the people. This has already happened in Chiapas in 1994, and most people didn't respond. The people continue to be oppressed and continue supporting the corrupt government paying the consequences. The SUTAUR stood up with all its courage and dignity and said, wake up! Don't be afraid, we'll be in the front. We're going to do it together. But they didn't rise up. We think the situation is going to have to get more serious.

The people are dying of hunger with miserable wages. The economy is destroyed. It seems like only when people die of hunger do they react. The government is a blood sucker with bloody hands. When they are having big banquets sometimes the people don't even have a cup of soup. It's criminal! This regime has to fall! We cannot permit it to continue living!★



EPR in Mexico

(Continued from page 1)

throughout the 1960s and '70s. Guerrero is one of the poorest of states in Mexico, with low literacy rates, poor agricultural production, food shortages and lack of public services such as electricity and running water. The PRI has ruled with an iron fist, especially in states like Guerrero, for nearly seven decades.

People began talking again about the probable existence of armed groups in Guerrero back in 1992. These arguments gained strength with the uprising in Chiapas on the first of January, 1994. The January 17, 1994 issue of *Proceso* described what was going on: "armed men move in distinct points of the Sierra. Isolated ranch townspeople claimed to have seen and heard masked persons carrying out movements and shooting in the night. The kidnapping of ganaderos [landowners] and local merchants by 'people with military training' has continued. In the final months of 1993, before what occurred in Chiapas, graffiti appeared in this and other zones urging people to 'join the guerrilla.'"

With the government of Rubén Figueroa Alcocer the repression against popular movements, which also existed under his predecessor Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu, increased and mass killings of peasants became frequent. The violence reaced its cynical peak with the massacre in Aguas Blancas.

GOVERNMENT'S TAKE ON THE EPR

The government has not recognized the EPR as a guerrilla group. They've claimed so far that they are drug traffickers, bandits and criminals. But they did go ahead and arrest and torture eight campesinos, seven of whom are members of the OCCS. The government, while declaring that the incidents pose no security threat, admit to cracking down in three Mexican states. The army had been on red alert in Guerrero since at least as far back as August, 1995 due to evidence discovered of guerrilla activity. Officially their operations target narcotraffiecers and deliver social aid to the population, in fact, thousands of federal soldiers are engaged in counterinsurgency sweeps and activity. Figueroa Alcocer got his wish now that the army has occupied the communities where the peasant organizations were based and many members were in hiding. Peasants are fighting back though, holding large demonstrations at the governor's palace over the last few days demanding justice in the Aguas Blancas case.

SOME THEORIES

In their manifesto the EPR describes themselves as "made up of men and women of different oppressed and exploited sectors of society... banded together against the reactionary violence of the oppressors and exploiters..." They call for the creation of a new revolutionary and democratic government.

Theories abound as to the true identity of the EPR. In the past, the government of Figueroa Alcocer tried to link the OCSS with the Clandestine Revolutionary Worker's Party–Union of the People and the Party of the Poor (PROCUP/PDLP). Campesino organizations deny these ties but PROCUP leaders claim that there are indeed armed groups in Guerrero.

Anticipating local elections, the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) (whose leader Cuauhtémoc Cardenas was at the ceremony where the EPR first appeared) has distanced itself from the group, calling it "suspicious" since it could lead people to associate their party with armed rebellion. Some suggest the ex-governor himself fabricated the EPR in an attempt to bring further repression on campesino organizations. Those who agree cite the new uniforms and sophisticated weapons, and the way they introduced themselves (at a media event as opposed to an armed action) as proof.

The EZLN has declared that there is no link between them and the EPR, but they pointed out that their presence showed that the crisis in Mexico was not limited to Chiapas. Subcommander Marcos has said that if the EZLN forges links with other armed groups it will do so publicly. The Zapatista uprising may have encouraged others to revolt especially since the Zapatistas were recognized by the state as legitimate. And no doubt events in Guerrero could significantly affect events in Chiapas, where negotiations just began after a forty-day delay due to the imprisonment of accused Zapatistas as terrorists.

The massacre in Aguas Blancas has spawned deep popular unrest in Guerrero. Plenty of evidence points to the operation of guerrilla groups in the troubled state. But is the EPR a legitimate rebel group wanting to overthrow the government? There is still a chance that other forces are behind it. But whether they're leftists supporting campesinos, campesinos themselves or rightists looking for a crackdown to hold on to power, the appearance of the mysterious EPR is complicating matters for the Mexican government. All this comes amidst continuing scandals rocking Mexico, including recent rumors of conspiracy to overthrow Zedillo by hard-liners in the PRI, the sorry state of the economy, strikes and protests and further disclosures of government wrongdoing.

The clock is ticking for the Mexican government and a strong international movement will be needed to aid our Mexican comrades in their struggle.★

AGUAS BLANCAS MANIFESTO

1) For overthrowing the anti-popular, anti-democratic demagogic and illegitimate government, which is at the service of national and foreign capital and the forces which sustain it, and for establishing a new government, essentially distinct from that which now holds power.

2) For restoring popular sovereignty and the fundamental rights of man, we shall achieve this objective with the participation of the people and the establishing of a popular democratic republic, exercising the people's legitimate right to alter or modify its form of government.

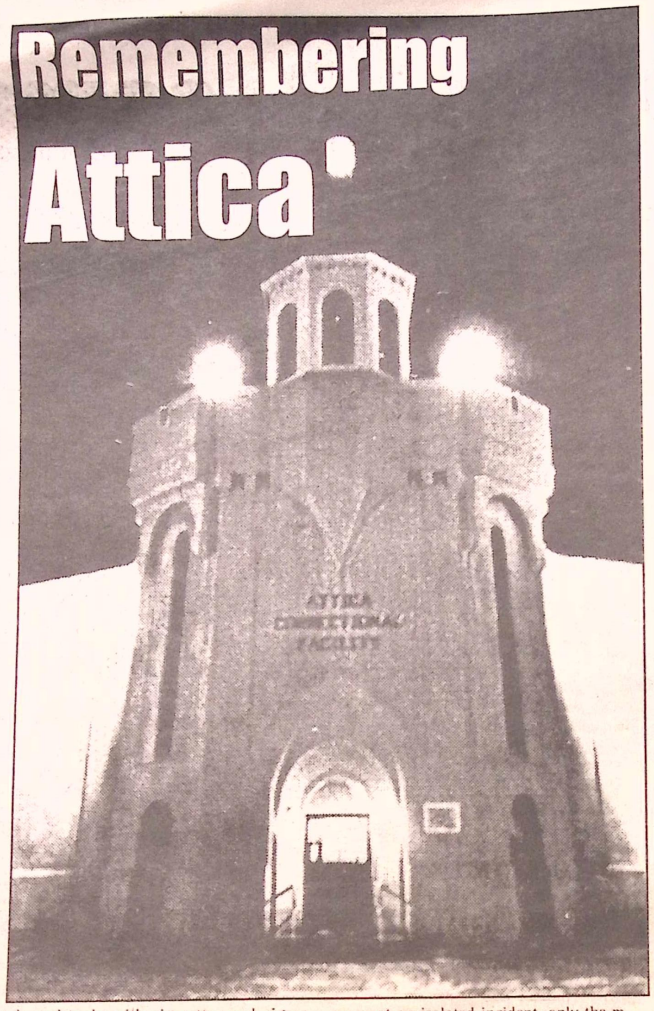
3) For solving the immediate demands and necessities of the people, carrying out the economic, political, and social changes required.

4) For establishing just relations with the international community.

5) For punishing those guilty of political oppression, repression, corruption, misery, hunger and crimes against humanity committed against the people.

These are the five points from the Aguas Blancas Manifesto, released by the EPR on June 28, 1996 in Guerrero.

Remembering Attica



By P. Harvey Snoozer

On September 9, 1971, prisoners in Attica State Prison outside of Buffalo, New York, rose in rebellion against the brutal conditions and terrible deprivations they suffered in the "corrections" system. The minor scuffles that precipitated the uprising were not the cause. They were the spark that ignited the pent-up rage the men in Attica, and every prison, felt. For a brief time the prisoners controlled all four cell blocks, but they congregated in "D yard" and held the defensive positions around the yard. One guard was killed in the initial uprising. As the cellblocks burned and news reached officials, Attica Warden Vincent Mancusi shook his head in disbelief, asking "Why are they destroying their home?"

Mancusi had not learned from the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the black power movement, the rebellions that burned down ghettos in Detroit, Los Angeles, and other cities in the four years prior to the Attica Rebellion; when you push people down they will eventually strike back. The Attica prisoners struck their first blows, then built an encampment in D yard. The men in the yard transcended the racial antagonisms that characterize prison society, working together to create shelters, provide latrines, and organize the defense of their gains. The prison culture of violence persisted, but a measure of solidarity and brotherhood stood in that yard as well.

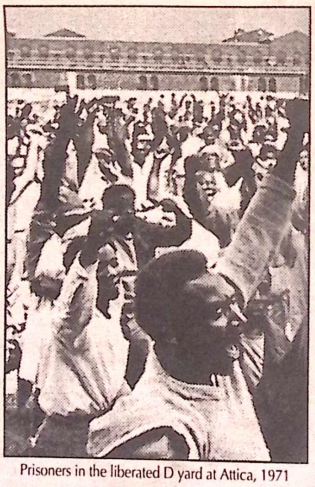
The more than 1,200 prisoners involved held 42 guards hostage, though several were released so they could receive medical attention. Some were held in the center of the yard, others in the buildings nearby. The press and observers were allowed in the yard for a time. New York's Commissioner of Corrections, Russell Oswald, negotiated with the prisoners and agreed to a list of twenty demands. Negotiations hung up, however, on the issue of amnesty for the rebellious prisoners. Feeling the power and freedom of their rebellion, and fearing the inevitable consequences, the prisoners did not release the hostages. Oswald, fearing that he would be taken hostage, broke off negotiations.

Outside the gates Oswald told another version of the negotiations to the press. The press reported the lies that the prisoners were demanding cash, helicopters and safe passage to Cuba or Russia. The lies were meant to prepare the public for the blood that was to come. The observers who [illegible] in the yard were withdrawn. Still, no one was prepared for what came the next day.

On Sept. 13 Gov. Nelson Rockefeller ordered an assault on the yard to end the occupation. Guards from Attica and surrounding prisons joined state troopers in the assault. Helicopters hovered over the yard announcing "put your hands on top of your head, you will not be harmed" even as the assault went on. State Troopers with high powered rifles fired "dum-dum" bullets, banned by the Geneva Convention from use in warfare. The guards entered the yard firing riot-control shotguns, vicious weapons that fire a dozen lead pellets, each one-third of an inch in diameter. Thirty-nine prisoners were killed, while more than 80 were shot. Nine of the 11 hostages in the yard were shot dead in the assault, some hit as many as five, ten and twelve times, according to the coroner.

The initial assault did not end the horror. Prisoners were forced to walk through a gauntlet of guards into the next yard. They were pummeled and abused in the passageway, and when they exited they were forced to the ground. Most prisoners were beaten, many severely. Stripped naked, they were forced to lie down in the muddy yard much of the day. Many related stories of feeling shotgun barrels against the backs of their necks for long periods of time. Inside the recaptured prison the reprisals continued. Prisoners were beaten, burned on the genitals and body with cigarettes and cigars, and tortured physically and psychologically. More than 1,000 prisoners suffered systematic torture and abuse after the uprising.

Outside, the newspapers reported the official lies that the hostages had their throats slit and their genitals cut off and stuffed in their mouths. The truth trickled out; the coroner reported that all nine hostages died from gunshot wounds inflicted by the governor's assault force. The government continued to report false information. The Grand Jury handed down 1,400 indictments against 61 prisoners in the Attica uprising. Not one of the officials who ordered and carried out the massacre was ever charged criminally.



Prisoners in the liberated D yard at Attica, 1971

ATTICA IS ALL OF US

The rebellion inside Attica was part of the overall movement for civil rights. Just as the black communities of the South had stood up against the Jim Crow system that treated them as second class citizens, the Attica brothers rejected their treatment in the prison system. Attica was not an isolated incident, only the most notorious. It came less than a month after the murder of George Jackson, the Black Panther Party's prison organizer (Aug 21, 1971).

Besides George Jackson, the prison system was breeding many other organizers. According to Richie Perez, the Young Lords Party had its origins as a prison gang organized for protection and power in the Illinois prisons. Contact with Black Panthers in prison was instrumental in transforming the gang into a political organization. Many of the leaders of the Attica rebellion were black, and all the prisoners recognized the racism of the system that sent blacks and Latinos to prison at higher rates than whites. The rebels in the yard cooperated and shared in a way that is seldom seen in this society, and almost never seen in the racism and violence charged atmosphere of the nations prisons.

Political support for the prisoners was there from the start. Progressive lawyers flew to Buffalo during the rebellion. Supporters rallied outside the prison and in marches in New York City around the slogan "ATTICA is All of Us!" The repression they faced inside shows what this system is capable of. The solidarity of the prisoners shows how powerful we can be when we work together.

Changes were made in prisons throughout the nation after the rebellion at Attica. Fear of another Attica forced the system to make changes. The victories were, however, short-lived. In 1975 officials put Marion Federal Penitentiary in Illinois on permanent lockdown. Marion became the first "control unit" prison in the US.

Prisoners there have been locked down for 21 years, twenty-three hours a day in an 8 x 8 cell, without windows or fresh air. Their one hour of exercise, if they get it, is taken alone in a yard where nothing green grows, surrounded by three-story-high cement walls. Chain link fence is between them and the sky. Control units are all the rage in prison construction, each new one striving to outdo the last for "supermax" security status. The federal penitentiary at Florence, Colorado is the new threat held up for prisoners who try to organize and speak out. Pelican Bay in California was explicitly designed to eliminate all human contact and to drive prisoners insane.

If things are going from bad to worse on the inside, we can only say they are going from worse to totally evil on the outside. The disparity in incarceration rates for blacks and Latinos compared to whites has made the US an international human rights disgrace. The US now incarcerates more of its citizens than any other developed nation. The movement for civil rights and people's movements are in worse disarray than has been seen for many decades. Drugs, pacification programs and underdevelopment have destroyed the community fabric which once supported such movements for equality and dignity.

ATTICA MEANS FIGHT BACK

For organizers today the 25th anniversary of the uprising is a passing that should be marked. The Attica uprising and the massacre that followed are connected to all of our struggles today. Cuts to education and *social services result in youth with no skills* to go anywhere in life but prison. The rise of the prison-industrial complex is a trend that can be shown to be ridiculous and evil by looking to the lessons of Attica. The reprisals that followed the assault were nothing more than police brutality. Today, police murder and beat people with no fear of official sanction. The solidarity of the rebellious prisoners is an inspiration for everyone who is subject to abuse and harassment. The sense of dignity to stand up and demand decent treatment is strength for all our fighting spirit.

CALL TO ACTION

The story of Attica is part of the forgotten history of an ahistorical nation. Attica is distorted and misrepresented in popular media. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the rebellion offers an opportunity to counter the myths with the truth.★

Support and further information for organizers wishing to commemorate this event are available from:
P. Harvey Snoozer
P.O. Box 2446
Brooklyn, NY 11202-2446

The Attica Brothers Legal Defense continues to work for vindication for the brothers who suffered at the hands of New York's "finest."
Attica Brothers Legal Defense
294 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11201

The Fight Continues...

It took several years, but the charges against the inmates were eventually dropped, after 8 trials with only one conviction. The state spent millions of dollars on the investigations and prosecution. The defense has never been well-funded and continues to struggle. The civil case, a suit for compensation for the suffering of brothers caught in the reprisals, almost died 15 years ago before the current legal team took up the fight.

Proceedings in Federal Court in Buffalo are tortuously slow. They have not been a model of fairness, but nonetheless in 1992 the Attica Brothers won a jury verdict against the Deputy Assistant Superintendent of Attica, Karl Pfeil. Pfeil was found liable for the reprisals against the prisoners before and after they were locked in their cells. The jury also found that the denial of medical attention violated the prisoners' 8th Amendment rights to be free from cruel and unusual punishment. The jury deadlocked on the question of liability of Commissioner Oswald and Warden Mancusi for those same reprisals. The jury also deadlocked on the liability of John Monahan, commander of the state police, for planning and executing the assault on D yard.

Though the court ordered the proceedings be expedited, no trial on the amount of damages the brothers are entitled to has happened. In June 1996 the court set the date for retrial on the liability of John Monahan for March 1997. The defendants' lawyers are paid by the state and stay in the Hilton when they travel to Buffalo. By contrast the Attica Brothers legal defense have been paid only $150,000 in the whole 15 years they have fought for justice and compensation.

The estate of Commissioner Oswald was released from the action, and no retrial on the liability of the estate of Warden Mancusi is scheduled.

Please organize events to raise money for the legal defense. I also encourage everyone to fast on August 21, George Jackson day, in memory of the fast the Attica brothers held the day after Jackson's murder. On the morning of August 22, 1971 news of the murder of George Jackson spread throughout the prison. No one ate breakfast that day. Prisoners held their trays to their chests filing past the food line to sit silently in memory of George Jackson. Many of the Attica Brothers point to this day as a profound influence on their awakening political consciousness.

Events are being planned in New York City on September 9, as well as in Albany, Buffalo, and Washington DC. There will also be a second event in New York City on September 13, the anniversary of the massacre of the Attica brothers twenty-five years ago.★

—P. Harvey Snoozer

How the Irish Became White

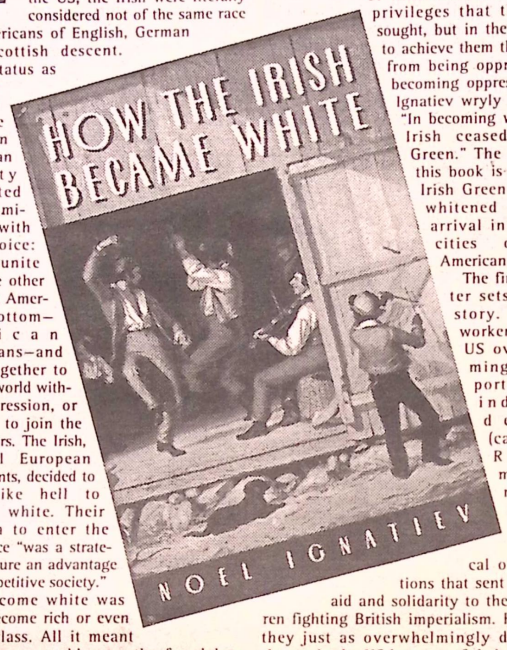
a book review

By Joel Olson

In a mere 228 pages, Noel Ignatiev, co-editor of the journal *Race Traitor*, takes on the big questions all serious revolutionaries must ask themselves: Why has the American working class generally allied itself with capital instead of freedom? Why don't the poor use their political power to overthrow the capitalists and create a truly free society? As a historian, Ignatiev gets at these questions by asking two more specific ones: How did it come to be that African Americans and Irish Americans, two of the most oppressed groups in the US, came to be such bitter enemies? How could the Catholic Irish in the early 19th century, an oppressed "race" in their own country, become part of the oppressing "white race" in the United States? The answer to these questions, Ignatiev argues, helps us solve the riddle of the strange formation (or non-formation) of an American working class.

The key to all of these questions, according to Ignatiev, is race, specifically the white race. He begins the book by pointing out that there is no such thing as a biological race. Races are political categories, not natural ones. Further, race is a relationship of oppression that establishes a hierarchy between the privileged and the degraded. To be of the Black race is to be racially oppressed, while "the white race consists of those who partake of the privileges of the white skin in this society. Its most wretched members share a status higher, in certain respects, than that of the most exalted persons excluded from it." Being white, in other words, is not something you are, it's something you do.

And the Irish did whatever they could do to become white in Jacksonian America (i.e. *from 1820 to 1860). When the first wave of* pale-skinned, freckled, poverty-stricken Irish came to the United States, they were not considered white. Like most new immigrants to the US, the Irish were literally considered not of the same race as Americans of English, German and Scottish descent. Their status as the lowest of the low in American society presented Irish immigrants with a choice: either unite with the other group at America's bottom—African Americans—and work together to build a world without oppression, or struggle to join the oppressors. The Irish, like all European immigrants, decided to fight like hell to become white. Their decision to enter the white race "was a strategy to secure an advantage in a competitive society."



To become white was not to become rich or even middle class. All it meant was that one could enter the free labor market (and not be a slave or indentured servant) and compete for all jobs instead of being confined to certain ones, and that Irish entrepreneurs could function outside of an exclusively Irish market.

It also meant that one could be a citizen of a democratic republic, enjoy the right to *vote and be elected, to be tried by a jury, to* live wherever one could afford, and to spend one's money as one pleased. All of these privileges were denied to Black or Red people, of course; these were the privileges of whiteness. It was these privileges that the Irish sought, but in the struggle to achieve them they went from being oppressed to becoming oppressors. As Ignatiev wryly remarks, "In becoming white the Irish ceased to be Green." The story of this book is how the Irish Green quickly whitened upon arrival in the big cities of the American North.

The first chapter sets up the story. Irish workers in the US overwhelmingly supported Irish independence (called the Repeal movement) and created political organizations that sent material aid and solidarity to their brethren fighting British imperialism. However, they just as overwhelmingly defended slavery in the US because of their partnership in the Repeal movement with Southern slave owners. They supported an end to Irish slavery but defended African slavery.

Ignatiev then examines early Black-Irish social relations. He looks at the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia (1790 -1835) as a *microcosm of these relations. The jail,* Ignatiev claims, was a "countersociety" that was run by the autonomous power of prisoners as much as it was by the official power of the jailers. He describes the power of the prisoners as so strong that it was virtually a "fortress of revolt" and a "regime of perpetual insurrection" against the prison officials. But if African American and Irish workers fought each other in the streets, why did they work together against the prisoncrats in the Walnut Street Jail? His answer is that the color line worked differently inside the walls. Prison officials did not enforce the line within the prison, or at least did so unevenly. There was no benefit to acting white and so the Irish prisoners tended to act more as people trying to get out of jail than they did as "whites." Because of the weakened power of whiteness, there were no race riots in the jail from 1815-1830, which was definitely not the case outside the walls.

Ignatiev does an excellent job here showing that race is a relatively weak social construction that has to be constantly propped up by official society or else workers will come together and get organized.

The middle chapters show how the Irish were not guaranteed admission into the white race; they had to work hard to earn it. Part of the work involved degrading African Americans; help also came from the labor organizations and the Democratic Party. Generally and unevenly, labor fought against ethnic, religious, and national differences, but embraced racism.

The final chapter concludes the story how the oppressed Irish overcame nat prejudice and fully joined the white r Interestingly, the invention of the mo police force had a lot to do with whitening of the Green. The creation permanent, centralized police force recruiting Irishmen as cops—was cruci easing Irish-white tensions and eventu folding the Irish into whiteness. "The Ir cop is more than a quaint symbol. appearance on the city police meant thereafter the Irish would be offici

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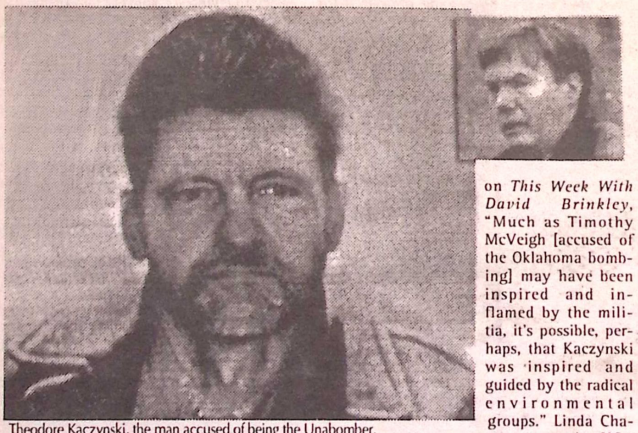
UNABOMBER

THE MOST FAMOUS ANARCHIST IN THE US



Theodore Kaczynski, the man accused of being the Unabomber. Inset, Kaczynski's rat fink brother.

By Wayne Price

Theodore Kaczynski has been charged with being the Unabomber. The Unabomber has claimed anarchism and radical environmentalism as justification for his bomb attacks, which have killed three people and injured 23. His targets have included business executives, an owner of a small computer store, and college professors.

There have been some efforts to use the Unabomber as an excuse to attack anarchism, environmentalism, and the Left in general. Within two days of Kaczynski's arrest, *ABC World News Tonight* had Peter Jennings refer to his "connection to a radical environmental group." Apparently the FBI leaked information that Kaczinski may (or may not) have attended a 1994 Montana conference on "Temperate Forests," along with 500 other people, including members of Earth First!.

Two days later, an ABC reporter declared on *This Week With David Brinkley*, "Much as Timothy McVeigh [accused of the Oklahoma bombing] may have been inspired and inflamed by the militia, it's possible, perhaps, that Kaczynski was inspired and guided by the radical environmental groups." Linda Chavez wrote in *USA Today* on April 10, "The Unabomber may well have taken his inspiration from the writings of Earth First!'s radical fringe." The same day, on National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*, a speaker claimed the Greens' "angry, sometimes violent, language" could have inspired the Unabomber.

The June 1 *New York Times* had a lengthy article headed, "Unabom Case Is Linked to Antiwar Tumult on US Campuses in the 1960s." It quoted someone as saying of the '60s, "You could become infected by this feeling that society had taken a wrong turn."

Yet if anything is clear from Kaczynski's history, it is that he was always an eccentric, isolated loner with no apparent interest in politics. He did not go to demonstrations, join organizations, sign petitions, nor even, apparently, have political discussions with anyone. According to the *Times* article, "By all accounts he was cool to the antiwar unrest of the 1960s, showing little interest in the political events swirling around him." After leaving the conventional life of a math professor, he became a hermit. He continued to not join, participate, or organize, and generally took no part in whatever existed of oppositional movements (it is unlikely that he even attended the conference mentioned above). Further, the Unabomber's manifesto explicitly denounces the Left in right-wing terms: "Leftists tend to hate anything that has an image of being strong, good and successful. They hate America, they hate Western civilization, they hate white males..."

Kaczynski must have been aware of the '60s rebelliousness on the campuses at which he studied and taught and he knew something about anarchism and radical environmentalism. (The police found a copy of a book on decentralism by Paul Goodman in Kaczynski's cabin. While a leading anarchist of the '60s, Goodman was a pacifist and gradualist, not exactly an inspiration for bomb assassins.) But the Unabomber was not part of any movement and his campaign of random death by mail bomb is rooted in the torments of his own mind.

THE UNABOMBER AS INSPIRATION?

There has been a popular interest in the Unabomber that is something more than the usual morbid fascination with serial killers. His "manifesto" was analyzed in journals of opinion. There is a Unabomber site on the World Wide Web. The *New Yorker* explained, "There's a little of the Unabomber in all of us."

In the media, "political" thinking means capitalist "democratic" ideas (liberal, moderate, or conservative) or perhaps state "socialism" (Leninist or reform socialist). These programs share a common framework of supporting the warmaking bureaucratic state, centralism, mass production, and a generally oppressive and alienated way of life. Coverage of the Unabomber and his writings gives people a peek at an alternate frame of social thinking. There is an attraction to criticism of modern industrialism, centralism, and over-urbanism. Most US people, however satisfied with our "way of life" otherwise, have beco aware of the dangers of pollution, destru tion of the ozone, global warming, a destruction of the rain forests. There is general sense of frustration at a situatio where the use of wonderful new technolo gies has produced greater insecurity unemployment, and poverty.

In this context, the Unabomber's anti-industrialism and decentralism strike a positive chord. Not that many are ready to abandon their capitalist-democratic political beliefs, but they feel "a little bit of the Unabomber" in them.

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISTS AND THE UNABOMBER

The establishment is happy to link anarchism and criticism of industrialism with serial killing. Yet many anarchists have major differences with the stated views of the Unabomber. We do not believe that a social system can be blown up by mail bombs. A free, radically democratic society can only be built by widespread, popular movements in which we intend to participate.

Unlike the Unabomber, we do not oppose "leftists" as such, although we oppose liberalism, Communism, and Social Democracy. We do "hate"—not the American people—but American and Western imperialism and domination over the world, just as we hate—not "white males" as people—but the domination of whites over people of color and men over women. We are against the centralized, bureaucratic state—but we are also against the capitalist corporations and market, in favor of a cooperative, nonprofit economy built on workers' control and consumer and producer cooperatives. This is the program of anti-authoritarian socialism.

Many of us oppose the use of technology by this society, one which is adapted to centralization, domination, and war. But we do not reject all technology. We think that a free, cooperative society could develop an alternate use of technology, one which is sustainable, decentralized, and on a human scale. We are not Unabombers. We are anarchists.★

Anarchist Tradition

(Continued from page 9)

tance of Moscow that the FAI recognized the need to reorganize itself in accordance with its actual role. In July 1937 the FAI reorganized itself with clear standards of membership based on agreement with a common political orientation. The affinity groups were stripped of any "official role in the new FAI organization" and vote by simple majority was introduced to prevent small groups from obstructing the work of the organization as a whole. But the new political statement of the FAI was again hopelessly vague and the organization had been fundamentally compromised by their participation in the Republican government and their treacherous call for a cease-fire during the "May Days" in Barcelona two months earlier.

THE FRIENDS OF DURRUTI

The failure of the FAI to provide revolutionary leadership in spite of the powerful revolutionary aspirations of the Spanish peasants and workers created a political vacuum. One organization that attempted to fill that space was the Friends of Durruti, who took their name from the late anarchist militia commander Buenaventura Durrruti.

One of the central issues in the Spanish Revolution was the attempt to incorporate the militias into a new regular Republican army. Much of the impetus for this militarization came from the Communist Party, which by virtue of its connections with the Soviet Union, was prepared to dominate the command of such an army. Ultimately most of the anarchist militias were either incorporated into the new army or broken by it. One group that resisted militarization were the militias at the Gelsa front. Instead of joining the army they returned to Barcelona and constituted themselves as the Friends of Durruti.

In May 1937 street fighting broke out between the anarchists and Communists in response to the effort of the Communists to seize the telephone exchange in Barcelona from the anarchists. The anarchist workers initiated a general strike in defiance of the leadership of the CNT and the FAI. The Friends of Durruti played a pivotal role in the May 1937 events in Barcelona, calling on the anarchist forces to maintain their barricades when the CNT leadership was preaching conciliation with the Communists.

After these events the Friends of Durruti issued a pamphlet "Towards a Fresh Revolution" that analyzed the defeat of the Spanish Revolution and put forward proposals for its regeneration. Unlike anarchists today who see the Spanish militias as the model of anarchist military organization, the Friends of Durruti had seen them in action and proposed, in opposition to either the Republican army or an exclusive reliance on the militias, the revolutionary army:

> With regard to the problem of the war, we back the idea of the army being under the absolute control of the working class. Officers with their origins in the capitalist regime do not deserve the slightest trust from us. Desertions have been numerous and most of the disasters we have encountered can be laid down to obvious betrayals by officers. As to the army, we want a revolutionary one led exclusively by workers; and should any officer be retained, it must be under the strictest supervision.

The Friends of Durruti also proposed the creation of a Revolutionary Junta to be made up of themselves andother groups that opposed participation in the Republican government. They also took some tentative steps to align themselves with anti-colonial forces in Morocco. As troops stationed in Morocco constituted the base for the fascist uprising, the question of support for Moroccan independence was a crucial one. This tentative anti-imperialism is indicative of the Friends of Durruti's determination to confront the weaknesses of anarchist theory.

CONCLUSION

The Friends of Durruti continued to operate even after the ultimate defeat of the Republic by the fascists, but in the final analysis their initiative clearly came too late. Like the Mahknovchina before them, they only came to understand the need for a different kind of revolutionary anarchist organization as a result of bitter defeats. Their abortive efforts to create such an organization did not get far enough to offer us much guidance today. What they do provide, however, is a desperately needed example of revolutionary anarchism confronting its errors head on and creating new forms in response to new conditions.

One simple lesson from the experiences discussed here is that the attempt to build a serious revolutionary anarchist organization will inevitably encounter hostility from many quarters, including many sincere anarchists. Only a minority of the most serious and committed activists can be expected to join such an effort. And only in the context of profound social upheaval will the importance of their extended period of organizational and political preparation become clear. Only in the course of struggling to build such an organization on the basis of coherent politics can we hope to collectively confront and overcome the mistakes of the past.★

Ann Arbor

(Continued from page 1)

crowds towards Main Street with the heavy fire of tear gas grenades and a street sweeping formation. Along the way, windows in a city complex and a bank were smashed. Further up Main Street amidst pedestrian onlookers and blocked traffic, the anti-Klan forces held an impromptu rally.

An assembly was called for on the other side of downtown near the university union. This meeting was to address the arrests and decide where to go from there. On reaching this spot, squads of police were already present. The cops carried out attacks on individuals seen as militants at the earlier demonstration. The anti-racist forces, no longer able to sustain themselves, melted away.

The major media and some anti-Klan rights organizations have condemned the counter-demonstrators. They have echoed the police charges that demonstrators attacked the police unprovoked. The assembled anti-racist, working-class youth of Ann Arbor and surrounding communities conducted themselves well on June 22. They stood shoulder to shoulder in a display of multi-racial unity and rejection of homophobia and xenophobia. They did the right thing in resisting police attacks. There were no University of Michigan students among those arrested. Black and white, they included restaurant workers and the homeless.

The anti-Klan forces have begun to reassemble in their defense. A press conference and picket demanding the state drop the charges and investigate the cops occurred within the week. The city council was picketed. One City Council meeting was disrupted from inside with a demonstration in support of anti-state testimony. This protest came together on the spot with an anti-council action staged by family and friends of Jamar French, a Black youth maliciously allowed to die while in Ann Arbor police custody in an incident unrelated to the June 22 anti-Klan action. A demonstration was held at a preliminary hearing on July 3. While charges against two defendants were dropped, actions to defend the others will continue.★

Demand the charges against Stewart, Titterton, Helms, Anderson, and Bosse be dismissed. Call and write the Washetenaw County Prosecuting Attorney:
PO Box 8645
Ann Arbor, MI 48107-8645
313-994-2380

If you would like to donate to the defense of the Ann Arbor 6 please make checks out to *Anti-Fascist Defense Fund* and mail to:

Anti-Fascist Defense Fund
P.O.Box 2635
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

How Irish Became White

(Continued from page 13)

empowered (armed) to defend themselves from the nativist mobs, and at the same time to carry out their own agenda against black people."

Ignatiev makes a convincing argument that the creation of white racial solidarity among Irish and other European immigrants was not at all inevitable but had to be politically forged through struggle. The creation of the "white republic" in America united European ethnics through the subordination of African Americans. It also tied white workers to the capitalist system: instead of fighting against capitalism they fought to increase their privileges within it and to deny these privileges to their fellow Black workers.

The result was a happy one for capitalists: a politically obedient and economically useful white working class working in the skilled trades while a small but viciously repressed Black working class did the "lowliest" work. Repression of Black labor came cheap to the capitalist: the white worker did it for free!

The Irish were not the only immigrant group who fought against Black people to become white. It's clear that the Irish represent the typical European immigrant experience for Ignatiev and that Irish experiences are the most striking only because of their degraded position in Ireland and their pale skin.

Traditional Marxist analysis assumes that the key agent for revolutionary change in this country is the working class. Ignatiev blows holes in this crude Marxism, but he does not throw out Marx, as some anarchists mistakenly do. Instead of seeing the working class as inherently revolutionary, Ignatiev examines the dual character of the white worker: for workers' rights, yes, but also for white rights. And whene'er the two shall meet, it always pays more to play the white tune.

He also blows holes in the simplistic argument that racism is a ruling class plot to divide the workers. Racial oppression is more than that; it prevents class unity because it provides real, material and psychological benefits to one section of the working class so long as they agree to repress the rest of the working class. White racism is in the (short-term, at least) interests of a significant chunk of the working class.

The implication for revolutionaries is that abolishing racial privilege is key to unifying a class and to the struggle for democracy. Working class unity alone does not guarantee the abolition of privileges for one group in relation to others. Working class unity and the struggle for a free society require the abolition of racial privileges, or the abolition of the white race itself.

This is a very strong book. Ignatiev is an excellent writer and is able to say more in 200 pages than most people say in three volumes. Basically, the argument is presented as a series of stories. Each chapter uses the history of particular individuals to represent the development of broader social attitudes among the Irish. He generally opts for clear storytelling over sifting through messy details, without ignoring the significance of certain details. He manages to do it with sympathy for both the exploited Irish and the oppressed African Americans. Ignatiev makes the Irish working class actors in their own history, not hapless things tossed about by the whims of a ruling class. The Irish resisted their poverty and exploitation by accommodating themselves to capital, in doing so the participated in the oppression of Black people. Ignatiev's analysis means we can no longer look at the white working class of the 19th century with misty eyes and socialist romanticism. That sometimes hurts, but it also means we can see the class and racial picture of this country that much more clearly.

I have three criticisms of this book. First, Ignatiev assumes too easily that without racial oppression, the capitalist labor market would naturally draw workers together toward a confrontation with capital. The history of racial oppression shows that there is nothing "normal" about any form of class solidarity, and that the only guarantee of unity is to slowly, painfully, and deliberately construct it. Working class unity, racial oppression or not, is always a political project, not a natural (if unintended) consequence of the laws of capital.

Second, I wonder what role Native Americans play in constructing race in North America. Ignatiev's focus is on Philadelphia in the 1800s, so it's no surprise that Native Americans don't figure prominently, but an analysis of whiteness created in opposition to a "Red" race as well as a Black one might alter some of his argument.

Finally, there is no analysis of gender and how the construction of masculinity may have played a role in creating whiteness or working class identity. This omission is by no means exclusive to this book (see, for example, books of similar themes by Theodore Allen, David Roediger and Alexander Saxton), but I wonder whether a serious analysis of gender might not change Ignatiev's otherwise persuasive account of the connections between race and class in the US.

These criticisms do not take away from the importance of this book. It is bold, sweeping, convincing and unabashedly revolutionary. Unlike most academic books that pose as radical until the last page (when they urge us to vote Democrat or recycle our bottles), Ignatiev doesn't hide the fact that the function of this book is to advance our understanding of race as a key pillar of this horrible society so that we may topple it.

He writes in the final pages, "My insistence on addressing problems of race as central to the formation (or nonformation) of an American working class stems from my view that there have been (and continue to be) moments when an anti-capitalist course is a real possibility, and that the adherence of some workers to an alliance with capital on the basis of a shared 'whiteness' has been and is the greatest obstacle to the realization of those possibilities." The consequence of this book, should we take it seriously, is that the model for a revolutionary movement lies not in the labor unions or the political parties, as the traditional left tells us, but in the irrepressible politics and grass-roots organizations of the original abolitionists.★

Demanarchie

(Continued from page 1)

be clear—they did not succeed in disturbing the anarchists' activity for more than a week. Even their theory of outside agitators is bankrupt. They were not able to jail anyone from the Demanarchie collective. The only sad, or dramatic aspect of all the affair is that three people from FNB got caught in the middle of the melee. The state got a petit revenge on them (two of them got a month in jail, and the third one got three months in a highly political trial for growing pot), but they will not succeed in changing these three people's ideas. One also has to remember that three months is nothing compared to the average eighteen months being served by most of the eighty rioters caught by the police.

In Quebec city there was no reaction except immediate solidarity with the FNB people and damage control in the media. In Montreal, Demanarchie reaffirmed its right to political dissidence and, together with other leftists, organized a campaign to denounce the World Anti-fascist League, the group that blamed Demanarchie for the riot and brought them to the state's attention. So far there has been a press conference against the WAL and a demo on July 7. The cops were so stupid that they arrested a Demanarchie militant on bogus charges there. The rest of the crowd staged a three hour sit-in in front of the police station where he was held. The cops were forced to release him, which gave Demanarchie even more major media coverage. For now they plan to organize other activities, such as large public assemblies, in order to surf on the momentum.

THE POLICE STICK IS NEVER FAR AWAY

The affair is far from over. There are still three people in jail who deserve solidarity, not to mention the 80 or so jailed rioters, and *Demanarchie* newspaper is still under investigation. Demanarchie is in a bad financial situation. They will need money. People should consider taking out solidarity subscriptions (the paper is mostly in French, but also has a large section in English), and giving small donations. What anarchists have to remember is that the police stick, either in the form of token "anti-fascist" denunciations, or plain state attack is never far away. And after all, the more anarchists are successful in their work, the more likely this stick will be close, and the more vulnerable they will be to it.★

LETTERS

DOWN TO EARTH ANARCHISM

Dear *Love and Rage*,

Well I just wanted to finally write and give a little input. To start with I've got to say that I'm glad that *Love and Rage* is still going. The U.S. anarchist "movement" is in serious need of real and strong organization, regardless of what some counter culture and back to the caves types may think, and both you and the Workers Solidarity Alliance are steps in the right direction towards filling that void. I also think that L&R provides good coverage and analysis of world events, especially the Zapatista struggles (I actually recently saw L&R mentioned as a valuable resource of information on the Zapatistas, in a book about them).

But there's also some things I'd like to see. I'd love to see more coverage of anarchist activity in North America and the rest of the world. What's happening in Asia, Africa, and South America? What's going on with the anarcho-syndicalist international and all its branches? Love and Rage seems to be the only anarchist paper to come out on a regular basis that could get the news out. Maybe you could put out a broadsheet paper with just news and addresses, in between months when the paper comes out.

I would also love to see *Love and Rage* become more "reader friendly" and accessible to regular people, like the intro to the March/April issue mentioned. To this end I believe it's valuable to remember that most of the people who we want to attract to the anarchist cause and idea don't have the benefit of years of exposure to radical libertarian socialist thinking. Dogma and rhetoric shouldn't overshadow our message (i.e. spelling America as "Amerikkka" makes a point the first time, which is lost after the fourth or fifth time.) Issues that concern normal people, not upper class wannabe SDS members and counter culture types, such as crime, should be fully addressed. What do we *do with rapists, murderers, drug dealers, and other anti-social predators* after the revolution and we're at the prison doors. Some people are locked away from society for good, legitimate reasons that hold especially true to the open, free, and equal world that we anarchists envision. Do we just put them up against the wall with the capitalists, generals and politicians?

Anyways, thank you for hearing me out. I honestly like reading L&R, and have even thought of trying to join. I really do think that you all would be doing yourselves and the movement a grave disservice by keeping L&R just the official organ of the Federation. I also worry about any glimmerings of ultra-radical chic that will turn otherwise interested people away from anarchism as a whole e.g. that "white people are inherently racist and evil. hetero men inherently sexist and evil" crap that I have seen passed as politics just a few years ago. I firmly believe that anarchism should be as down to Earth and accessible as possible.

Eric Bryden
Seattle, WA

REVOLUTIONARY HIGH SCHOOLER

L&R,

I want to show my support for the revolution. I think it's necessary for everyone who can help contribute to a group such as yours. Here we are few but together we are strong. I'm a high schooler who has done his best to promote free thinking and anti-authoritarian living. I have put together a modest attempt at a magazine for school with several other like-minded. To be writing for/about the revolution is the most worthwhile thing I can do here on a normal basis. I'm in general agreement with your magazine, and have circulated it amongst my peers. Literature is like food for me and the comradeship of your paper is necessary nourishment. I'd greatly appreciate the chance to get involved. If you could send anything I'd greatly appreciate it.
Yours for the revolution,

Bill St. Pierre
Rocky Point, NY

INCORRIGIBLE IN ARIZONA

Hey *Love and Rage*,

I'm locked down in Arizona for setting fire to cop cars and since I can't do anything I'm forced to read about it so if you can find a minute to put me on the mailing list I promise not to be reformed.
STAY FREE!

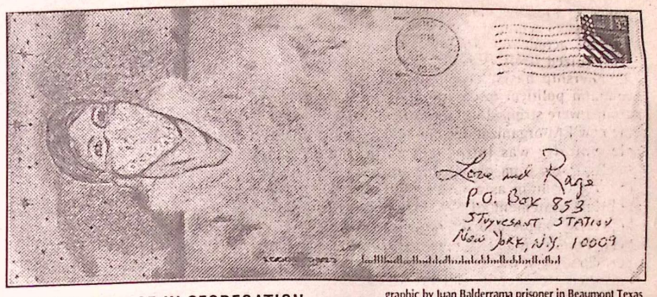
Bobby Lee #96416
Arizona State Prison
10,000 S. Wilmot Road
Tucson, AZ 85777

THE LONG AND SHORT OF IT

Love and Rage,

I really like the idea of the ARA section, ABC section, and federation notes as a regular feature in each issue. That will possibly do a lot to help represent the federation. It's important to (have) both short articles and long articles. As long as those articles aren't too long. However, too many authoritarian socialist papers are *just loaded with short articles that all end with the sentence* "Therefore there must be socialist/communist revolution." So with the short articles, just watch out for that.
Thanks and take care!
In struggle,

Shawn
Richmond, VA



graphic by Juan Balderrama prisoner in Beaumont Texas

A VITAL SOURCE IN SEGREGATION

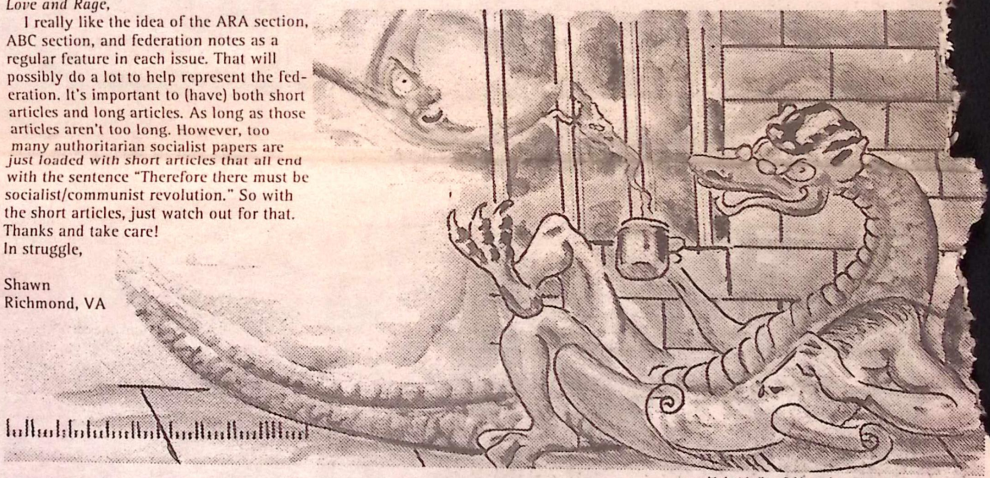
Greetings,

I write this letter to you in hopes that it reaches you enjoying the best of heath and high spirits.

First, I want to give you my sincerest "thank you" for the opportunity of reading your newspaper, as it is a perspective of which I was ignorant of. Truthfully, I tell you, politically I was aware of only what the mainstream media portrays. I mean, I knew there were publications out there that didn't agree with what is considered "the normal press," but I had a preconceived idea that those publications were of ideas coming from the minds of raving lunatics (right!). I have come to appreciate and look forward to your publication, and as I would like to renew my subscription. I am doing a 99 year sentence down here in Texas, and this year is my 8th year incarcerated. As I am in administrative segregation, I am happy to receive news from the free world that is of the sort I can't get on the radio, as that is the only source I can get back here (no TV allowed). I just received your June/July 1996 issue and I enjoyed. What strikes me the most is your commitment to the struggle of the Zapatistas in Mexico, as your paper seems to be the only source of news on the subject I am aware of. The mainstream media gave it some mention when it first broke out in January of 1994, but I've not heard about it since, except for the fine articles printed in your paper, again thanks and I hope that you continue to give attention to this cause. Also, the articles of Control Unit prisons and prisons in general is very much as I myself have experienced first hand. Like I said, I find myself inclined towards an anarchist political view, although I've not been an activist of any sort.

To conclude, I wish you all the best in your endeavors and will await your next publication gratefully.
Sincerely,

Juan Balderrama #518883
12 Bldg AB-24
Rte. #4 Box 1500
Beaumont, TX 77705



graphic by Virgil Barfield another prisoner in Beaumont, Texas

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ABC Reports

(Continued from page 5)

bail was set at over $10,000 each. We were interrogated for hours without a lawyer present but this time we never said a word.

Tom Bell, our lawyer, set a hearing for the bail to be reduced. It was reduced to $1,500 for Robert and $1,000 for Chris as well as Justin. Our bail was raised by various groups throughout the world. We want to thank everyone who sent in money. It was the ONLY reason we were able to survive. By that I mean that if we hadn't received the funds from everyone we may still be in jail and that if we were able to come up with funds ourselves we would surely be without a home.

We were called into court on May 2, 1996. On the morning of the 2nd we plead NOT GUILTY to felony counts of criminal mischief. This was the beginning of our trial. The prosecutor, Eric Davis, has chosen to proceed with felony charges. If we are convicted we will each face five years in prison.

We took photographs of the prosecutor to run a story about him in our local paper, *Alarm!* Having his photo taken is something that no prosecutor likes, we found out. He had us hauled back into court that very minute. The judge told him that we had not, in fact, broken the law. Eric Davis was informed that photos were not banned in the courthouse. Eric Davis proceeded to claim that we were under indictment for crimes of a violent nature. The judge checked his calender and said, "I thought this was a criminal mischief case." Eric Davis said that we were threatening his life, his family, etc. He became quite embarrassing to everyone in the courtroom.

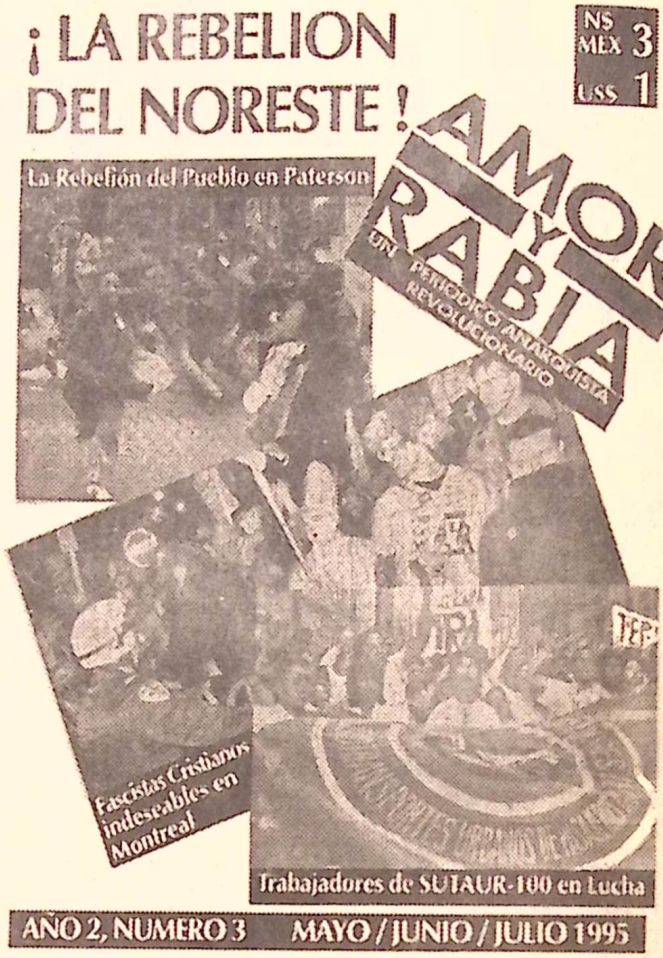
We members of the Youth Action Movement / Anarchist Black Cross took offense to his claims of harassment and threat. Robert had this to say to a friend in regards to Eric Davis's behavior:

We spoke on the phone about how the prosecutor Eric Davis has acted, and his consistent distortion of the truth worries me. He is the epitome of paranoid. WE are the ones who should be worried about lives being taken or homes being raided. He has no RIGHT to fear us. We have never caused harm to anyone. We have never been associated with any violence or unjust treatment of any individual.

THEY, on the other hand, have. THEY are the ones who raided our home, took our things, put guns on US! The only weapons we have ever put on them was a pen and some paper. The only weapons we ever put on them was a camera! We have only tried to educate our community, raise their consciousness, feed the hungry, and expose the truth whenever we can. Our actions have shown us to be of the humanist school of thought. Theirs have shown otherwise...[this is] the message that we are so desperately trying to send, not only to you, but to the world. Peace, Love, Struggle, Fire & Smoke!★

¡Alto a la Masacre!

¡Viva Zapata!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